

Pam: India

# TWO PAPERS

ON

SOCIAL INTERCOURSE BE-  
TWEEN EUROPEANS  
AND NATIVES IN INDIA

AND ON

THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE  
BY

Mr. Nusserwanjee Sheriarjee Ginwalla,  
( Read by M. D. Dadysett Esq., Barrister-at-law  
and Sir Roper Lethbridge )

BEFORE

THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

ON

Wednesday, February 7th 1883  
And Wednesday, December 17th 1884.

With report of discussion thereon.

Lord Stanley of Alderley

And General Sir Orfear Cavenagh. K. C. S. I.

IN THE CHAIR

( Reproduced from the journals of the East.  
India Association Wednesday February 7th 1883  
& Wednesday December 17th 1884 & the Times  
of India August 14th Saturday 1886 )

East. India. Association. 26. Charing cross.

S. W. LONDON.

1883 1884

THE VICTORIA PRINTING PRESS BROACH







To the Honorable R. West  
with W. S. General's best compliments







## SOCIAL INTERCOURSE BETWEEN EUROPEANS AND NATIVES IN INDIA.

PAPER BY

MR. NUSSERWANJEE SHERIARJEE GINWALLA OF BROACH.

A MEETING of the members and friends of the East Indian Association was held at the Pall Mall Restaurant, Regent Street, Waterloo Place, on Wednesday afternoon, February 7, 1883, the subject for consideration being "Social Intercourse between Europeans and Natives in India," introduced in a paper by Mr. Nusserwanjee Sheriarjee Ginwalla of Broach.

The Right Honourable LORD STANLEY OF ALDERLEY occupied the chair, and amongst those present were the following :—Sir George Birdwood, Kt., C.S.I., M.D. ; Sir Lewis Jackson, Kt., C.I.E. ; Sir George Kellner, K.C.M.G., C.S.I. ; Sir Lewis Pelly, K.C.S.I., and Lady Pelly ; Sir William Rose Robinson, K.C.S.I. ; Lady Bittleston ; Lady Couch ; Lady Hobhouse ; Lieut.-General Lowry, C.B. ; Major-General G. Burn ; Major-General H. F. Waddington ; Colonel A. J. Bruce ; Colonel R. M. Macdonald ; Lieut.-Colonel M. McP. Battye ; Lieut.-Colonel P. T. French ; Major Crombie ; Major F. W. Buller ; Captain W. W. Ross ; Professor Gustav Oppert ; Rev. and Miss T. O. Beeman ; Rev. James Johnston ; Rev. Alfred Jones, B.D. ; Rev. James Long ; Raja Rampal Singh ; Surgeon-



General and Mrs. Balfour ; Surgeon-General Hunter, F.R.C.P. ; Dr. Vincent Ambler ; Dr. Haward ; Dr. and Mrs. Rae, F.R.S., M.D. ; Mr. M. A. Abraham ; Mr. C. W. Arathoon ; Mr. M. Baker (of Persia) ; Mr. G. H. M. Balten ; Mr. U. D. Banerje ; Mr. W. H. Beeman ; Mr. Mancherjee M. Bhownaggree ; Mrs. Karl Blind ; Mr. William Bowden ; Mr. E. Brooks ; Mr. J. Brooks ; Mirza Peer Bukhsh ; Mr. Shakh Abdul Busole ; Mr. and Mrs. Burt ; Mr. Dadabhoy Byramjee ; Mr. Pestonjee Byramjee ; Mr. D. P. Gama ; Mr. W. Chambers ; M. A. Challopadhya, M.R.C.S. ; Mr. C. S. Colvin ; Mr. Hormasji Dorabji Darnwula ; Mr. J. Duinn ; Mrs. J. Edmonds ; and Miss Edmonds ; Mr. Faille ; Mr. William H. Field ; Mrs. Fischer ; Mr. Samuel Fisher ; Mr. Charles Fitzgerald ; Mr. G. Seymour Fitzgerald ; Miss Seymour Fitzgerald ; Mr. A. Govindan ; Mr. Gunnsi ; Mr. and Mrs. Charles Hancock ; Mrs. Haward ; Mrs. and Miss Hopkins ; Mr. A. R. Hutchins ; Mr. and Mrs. H. M. Hyndman ; Miss Johnson ; Mr. S. A. Kapardin ; Mr. J. B. Knight, O.I.E. ; Mr. S. N. Knox ; Mr. Q. G. Kothare ; Mr. M. Kumruddin ; Mr. J. S. Law ; Mr. Hugh S. Leonard ; Miss A. Lillie ; Mr. Macdonald ; Mr. M. Abdool Majid ; Miss A. V. Mallet ; Miss E. A. Manning ; Mr. W. McGuffin ; J. E. Modi ; Miss A. L. Moore ; Mr. David Nasmith ; Mr. E. L. Oxenham ; Mr. E. Peacock ; Mrs. Pepler ; Mr. J. Upton Poole ; Mr. H. W. Hayes Redwar ; Miss Richardson ; Mr. Alexander Rogers ; Mr. S. K. Sanjana ; Mr. A. K. Sethna ; Mr. R. D. Sethna, B.A., L.L.B. ; Mr. John Shaw (Madras) ; Mr. William Smith ; Mr. Charles J. Stone ; Mrs. Arthur Symmonds ; Miss Symond ; Miss Teschemacher ; Miss Taylor ; Mrs. Thomas ; Mrs. Jane Van Gelder ; Mr. M. E. Walhouse ; Miss M. Walker ; Mrs. E. Winchley ; Mr. W. Carlton Wood ; Mr. W. Martin Wood ; Mr. Wooddard ; Mr. W. Hamilton Burn (Secretary), &c.

The CHAIRMAN having called upon Mr. Dadysett to read Mr. Ginwalla's paper, Mr. M. D. DADYSETT spoke as follows :—

If there ever was a time, when there really is needed the display



of genuine feelings of cordiality and friendliness between the English rulers and the Natives of India, it is this. Certainly no topic can more fitly engage the attention of the British public than this. It is now high time that the English nation should understand the real nature of the difficulties that stand in the way of their rule, which would otherwise always run smoothly. The blessed delusion that the Natives of India are all contented with the English rule, should be dispelled. The truth is, that from a population six times as large as that of England, it is not possible to meet with universal approval of the conduct of their rulers, or rather more directly of all such persons through whose instrumentality a vast country like India is ruled. Arguments of the kind which were ridiculed as futile and groundless a few years ago, are more or less cogent now. If there is one thing which more than another deeply concerns the safety of the British Government, it is the creating of love and inspiring of confidence in the various races that inhabit the vast country.

If the English nation want to know the real character of the Hindus and the Mahomedans, they must look to the Parsees. The Parsees, a small community, descendants of the renowned Persians of old, while living in India, have always inspired the hearts of their rulers with sentiments not only of loyalty but of personal attachment. A popular English writer, writing a quarter of a century ago, thus speaks about the Parsees :—"The Parsees have been, during the last three centuries, especially at home in the city of Bombay. They understand the English, have something of English energy, with an understanding, rare in Asia, of the commercial as well as the moral value of integrity. They are active, shrewd, liberal and generally rich. Some people now describe them as the Anglo-Saxons of the East."

The Parsees are moreover Anglicized in their manners, they are refined in their views and modes of thought, and to them alone the



English can very safely apply for any friendly advice in solving any knotty questions of misunderstanding or ill-feeling between Europeans and Natives. The same English writer on this point says :—"The Parsees are rapidly becoming Europeans in their habits. They do not, like the Hindus, sit on the floor, and dine "out of one large dish, in which is a confused mixture of food ; "but sit on English chairs at English tables before English dishes. "They are beginning also to sit down together—man and woman—"not man here and woman there. Between the Parsee men and "women there is indeed a freedom of equality rare among Asiatics." Finally, the same writer says, "these worthy Fire-worshippers are "trusty friends of England. They have from the beginning valued "and understood us. Our countrymen in India know and value "them." I need hardly add, that since 1859 when the above comments were made, the Parsees have made a very rapid progress in civilization in common with the English or any other civilized nations in the world, and that up to the present day the Parsees have retained the good opinion of their English rulers cannot be better shown than by quoting the remarks of the latest and most distinguished financier, orator, and administrator who at the present moment fills, in connection with this Association, the office of the President. I refer to our late Governor, Sir Richard Temple, Bart. who in one of his speeches before the Indian public, thus speaks about the Parsees :—"Now, gentlemen Parsees, in conclusion, it is not "for me as a British officer and as a member of the ruling race" "to say that we like any one class of our subjects better than any "other. It is our duty and our pleasure to like all classes of the "people alike. But this I may say, there is no class we like better "than the Parsees. Also, as your Governor, it is not for me to say "that we think any one class more loyal than any other, or all the "others. We believe that loyalty and fidelity are to be found in all "classes of British subjects in this Presidency ; but this I will say" "there is no class in whose loyalty we have greater confidence than



“that of the Parsees ; and my pleasure in attending this meeting  
 “and delivering this speech is enhanced by this consideration, that  
 “the Parsees have contributed greatly to make Bombay the fine,  
 “great, and splendid city which it is.”

Having amply supported my remarks, let me resume the subject for the evening. It is true that in business relations the Europeans come close to the Natives, but in social intercourse they are as wide apart as ever. If at all they join in friendly gatherings with the Natives, they do it as a matter of sheer necessity, though there are some noble exceptions. As a rule, an Englishman does not like the Natives, they are hateful to him, and he would be glad to avoid coming in contact with them. This sort of dislike arises from the painful idea of his being their superior socially, politically and morally. Unfortunately, dislike on one side is enough to breed dislike on the other. If we were to sift this matter more carefully we should find that sometimes strong dislike and antipathy arise from the most trivial causes. Caste feelings and caste prejudices will always be a stumbling-block in the way of the Hindus of India. Tradition teaches a Hindu to look upon a foreigner as an interloper, and something of the old tradition remains to entitle a white-skinned Englishman to delight in calling a Hindu a “nigger.”

Very truly an Englishman often charges the Hindus with the art and duplicity of keeping their wives, daughters, and sisters studiously away from the company of Englishmen and women. But he ought, at the same time, to take into his favourable consideration the many obstacles, religious as well as social, which stand in the way of the poor caste-bound Hindus. It is for the present asking too much from a few educated and refined Hindus to use their meagre influence in eradicating the time-honoured customs and institutions of their forefathers. Under the circumstances, what Englishmen can very desirably do, is to display kindly feelings and extend their friendly hand to such of the Natives as are eager to



associate themselves with their English rulers.

Again, it is a fallacy to imagine that Hindu ladies are generally sufficiently advanced in education and refined in manners to keep their intercourse with English ladies. Looking at the slow strides the Hindu ladies make in the advancement of knowledge and education, it is fairly a work of half a century to bring them to an equality with English ladies. It is indispensably necessary that the Hindus should have a thorough insight in an English family. It is to his incalculable benefit to learn the eminent virtues of an English home. Englishmen in India ought to give them such an opportunity. By availing themselves of the opportunity they will gradually begin to understand that the bonds of matrimony are far more sacred and solemn than are deemed by the Natives of India, and that a wife is no more a plaything or a creature of convenience but a man's equal, and in some respects his superior. It is a matter of regret that, notwithstanding a long stay of Englishmen and Englishwomen in India, very little use has been, up to this time, made of the benign influence of Englishwomen to improve and alter some of the habits and customs of their Hindu brethren.

Let it be the duty of every English man and woman to teach a Hindu, by precept and example, that there is a higher and nobler mode of enjoying and fulfilling the condition of matrimony than that of the secluded Zenana, that the dictates of the heart should rise superior to all mercenary motives, and for no consideration be made subservient to any other purpose, religious or worldly. To exclude the Hindus from the society of English ladies is actually to shut the door against them of the best school of learning domestic virtues and several other eminent qualities, which grace women, and adorn a home with domestic felicity.

Englishmen in India are considered leaders of society, and as such they ought to be equal to the task that devolves upon them.



By coming in close contact with Europeans the natives will, directly or indirectly, learn good manners, and will get rid of impediments and deep-rooted prejudices. The slovenly habit of the natives is an imaginary grievance of Englishmen in India. They consider a Hindu wanting in personal cleanliness. It may be so with the lower classes, and it is a mistake to identify these classes with the high caste Hindu. We have no better right to take the vulgar mass as the cream of high Hindu society and Hindu life than the fishmongers of Billingsgate, or the street hawkers, as specimens of the high-born English race. To confound and mix up all the numerous races in India is one of the greatest mistakes that an Englishman often commits in India. To a greater or less extent the Hindu dress, the "dhotee" and the "angarkha" (coat), is at the bottom of this mischief. It greatly helps to assimilate a high caste Hindu with a "pariah" (the lowest of the low) of his community in the eyes of an English official. To wipe off the stain of uncleanness we must have recourse to Hindu religion. Hindu religion, from time immemorial, and even in its very primitive form, enjoins purity in body ; consequently, in the course of twenty-four hours of the day a number of "dhotees" are being changed and washed. and the body also is constantly washed and cleaned. Unfortunately, the "dhotee," which leaves the calves almost bare, and half covers the legs and feet, does an amount of injustice to a Hindu, however refined and intelligent he may be. It is no wonder that a dress almost indecent must contribute a great deal to keep the Hindu aloof from an English social circle and society, Certainly, without making the hot climate of India a peg by the Hindus to fasten their arguments upon, in favour of the unsightly "dhotee," some improvement ought to be made in the form of a Hindu's dress.

There is another argument apparently cogent which an Englishman urges in favour of his not associating freely in social and friendly intercourse with the natives, and especially the Hindus. As a rule the Hindu has a smooth tongue and a propensity to flatter.



If he is asked to give his opinion on a given subject, he generally re-echoes your own sentiments and acts in such a manner that you can very soon come to the conclusion that he is, more or less, wanting in truthfulness and fair play. On the other hand, if he were to show himself less complaisant and speak out his own mind unreservedly, he would unfortunately be put down by our English friend as disloyal, insolent, cheekily, and as one who is making a very bad use of his University education. For the use of his brain freely and independently the poor Hindu is termed a dangerous man, and a clamour is raised by Englishmen to abolish colleges and reduce the standard of University education, which, in their opinion, tends to breed and nourish a set of discontented, half-educated, vain-glorious, and conceited babblers. To avoid this charge of disloyalty, conceit, and impertinence, the deplorable Hindu, like every other conquered race, is quick at reading John Bull's character, and knows that his interest lies in pleasing his English master. As a native of India is proverbial from the cradle for shrewdness in reading the human heart, he at once finds out the peculiar trait in an Englishman's character, and studies to agree, compliment, and flatter him in all his views; but honest and simple John Bull, being ignorant of all this, regards the poor Hindu as a versatile scoundrel devoid of all principles, and shuns him as a viper. With such a low opinion of a Hindu's morality and principles it is no wonder that an Englishman in India does not take to the Natives. But ladies and gentlemen, allow me to inform you that it is altogether an erroneous and groundless opinion formed by Englishmen in India not only as regards the Hindus but as regards the entire body of the Natives of India, and in support of my assertion I beg to quote the opinion of a well-known and disinterested advocate of India, Dr. George Birdwood, late of the Indian Medical Department, and now Sir George Birdwood, K.C.S.I. He says:—"I, for my part, believe "that the people of India are easier to govern than any other "people up, and down the bright latitudes and longitudes of the



"terraqueous globe, if governed in mercy and truth, in righteousness and peace. They are long-suffering and patient, hardy and enduring, frugal and industrious, law-abiding and peace-seeking. They hate change indeed—especially in legislation and taxation. This is the Indian ryot (agricultural class) universally. The educated and higher mercantile classes are honest and truthful, and loyal and trustful, towards the British Government, in the most absolute sense that I can use, and you understand the words. Moral truthfulness is as marked a characteristic of the settia (upper) class of Bombay as of the Teutonic race itself. The people of India, in short, are in no intrinsic sense our inferiors while in things—measured by some of the false standards, false to ourselves, we pretend to believe in—they are our superiors."

Native gentlemen who have been to England to study for the various liberal professions, to find out some new field of enterprise, and to increase the scope of their knowledge and experience, are often at a loss to understand why the same cordiality, hospitality and kindness enjoyed by them whilst in England from their English friends, acquaintances and professional brethren, should be refused to them by the scions of the same high-minded and chivalrous race in India. Various reasons have been from time to time assigned for the coldness between the rulers and the ruled, but the chief of them is not far to seek. In England all Englishmen do not enjoy the same enviable income as they do in India. In England a Native of India sees two-thirds of the mighty Babylon trying very hard to make the two ends meet. Exgovernors, generals, councillors, commissioners, collectors and retired merchants from India, do not enjoy in England the same princely income which they generally do in India. In England, where Earls and Dukes roll in riches, these retired officials from India are almost a nonentity. Here they cannot afford to play the purse-proud and stately Governors and Commanders. Conse-



quently, while they are in England, which is a land of equality and freedom, they treat the Natives of India as their equals, and very often introduce them into their families. Suppose the same Englishmen were to land on the Indian shore, as a rule they would be at once metamorphosed—assume an icy reserve and express a haughty disdain. They in India look upon themselves as one of a superior race, come over only to command and exact obedience from the conquered Natives. In support of my remarks I beg to quote a passage or two from an able minute recorded by the liberal-minded and enlightened Governor Sir C. E. Trevelyan, with whose name almost every Native of India is acquainted. He says :—“This high-handed insolence of a dominant race is the “greatest danger to which a power like ours in India is liable. “The founders of our Anglo-Indian Empire were sensible of this; “and, while a forbearing and courteous demeanour towards the “Natives was inculcated with the consistency of a constitutional “law, every instance of misconduct towards them on the part of “a servant of the Government was visited with immediate punishment.” With a view of remedying the evils he suggests in the same minute as follows :—“It will be mitigated if great discrimination is exercised by the authorities in England, and a better “class of Englishmen selected and sent out to this country. They “should be cultivated, thoughtful and intelligent persons, able to “converse with the Natives of this country in their own language, and to take an interest in them.”

Had these minutes been acted upon a great deal of good would have accrued to the Natives of India, but I am sorry to say that due notice was not taken, and the result of it is that we see the civilians, or at least a majority of them, do not behave as well as they ought towards the Natives of India. In support of my remarks I beg to quote the remarks of Sir George Birdwood upon the point. He says :—“The British Government in India rests “absolutely on the personal character of the men of the Indian



“ Services, and, above all, of the civilians ; and the contentment  
 “ of India with our rule—as apart from, and secondary to the  
 security of our rule depends mainly on the discipline, the sense of  
 “ duty, obedience, order, responsibility—on the conscientiousness  
 of members of the public Services.”

Before proceeding any further in this discussion, let it be distinctly understood that by quoting with approval the above mentioned remarks, I do not for a moment argue that the sole contentment and happiness of the people in India, and the foundation and stability of the British empire, rest only on the courteous behaviour of the members of the public Services. The question on what does the foundation and stability of the British empire rest, is one that affects not only the two hundred and fifty millions of people in India, but the British public as well. I may say boldly, one of the foundations, or rather the principal foundation, is the contentment and happiness of the people. Some may call it a sentimental idea, but on reflection it will not appear so. In fact, the days of ruling India by the sword are passing away slowly, and we may as well wish it may pass away rapidly to return no more. The time must come, if the British rule in India is to be put on a permanent basis, to reduce the vast military expenditure, which sucks up as if it were the very life blood of the people, to reduce that expenditure which absorbs now almost sixty-five per cent. of the net revenue, taking all and indirect items, and to bring it down to forty, thirty, and twenty per cent. any, even less, taking the net revenue of India as about thirty-two millions sterling pounds, and excluding the opium revenue. The time must come when on reproductive public works, such as irrigation and navigation canals, the amount to be invested will have to be increased ten times more than it is at present, in order that famine loans may be avoided and famines effectually prevented, and all the loss of life and the loss of agricultural produce of millions sterling prevented. The time must come also when the

doors of the Civil Service will have to be thrown open to both Natives and Englishmen, and the examinations held in India and not in London, as done now to prevent Natives as far as practicable from entering that service in any numbers. The time must come, also, when, as remarked by our worthy President, the condition of the ryots, who are deeply in debt, and regarding whom the British rule is so defective as to keep them in a wretched state, will have to be improved. The educational grant will have to be vastly increased. Imagine the difficulties of governing an empire where among two hundred and fifty millions of people only one per cent. go to school, and where ninety-nine out of every hundred cannot read or write. These and other serious defects in the administration of India will have to be removed. The sooner the better—otherwise there is very little use of talking so sweetly and painting in rosy colours pictures of the British administration in India. But I believe in discussing a subject of this nature I am diverging from the subject in hand, and will therefore resume the subject, having sufficiently shown on what do the future contentment and happiness of the people depend.

In continuation of my remarks on the subject of the evening, I beg to say that it is very much to be regretted that young Englishmen with very little experience of the world, and holding responsible posts in India, entertain a very low opinion of the Natives. Their arrogant demeanour, originating from the idea of their national superiority, is extremely offensive to all classes of the Natives, and is highly detrimental to the interest of the State they represent.

To all that I have said there are honourable exceptions among the civilians. The good sense, however, of a great many well educated Englishmen who of late are imported to govern the Natives with wholesome advice from the highest men in power teaches the stern realities of an Indian life at a glance. They soon perceive that in several branches of the Service they are



quite helpless without the assistance of intelligent and well-informed Natives. The past experience of many eminent Anglo-Indians points out that the sound advice of able and experienced Natives in matters of administration have greatly contributed to the success and eminence of these distinguished Englishmen. Such names as Elphinstone, Malcolm Chaplin, Trevelyan, Northbrook, and others have been pronounced by the Natives with esteem and affection for their urging upon their brother officials, both civil and military, to treat the Natives of India very kindly and gently.

Let this be freely acknowledged that a good many Englishmen in India are perfect gentlemen in the true sense of the term, and are true friends of the Native fellow subjects. It ought to be the duty of the Home Government, before sending out young men to govern the Natives of India, to strongly advise them as to how to behave towards the subject races. It ought to be made compulsory for every new civilian to be acquainted with the habits, manners and wants of the Natives. They must be strictly enjoined not to molest and insult the Natives. They must be particularly directed to befriend the helpless and respect and encourage the deserving.

It is well contended by Englishmen that they cannot possibly ask the Natives to join their family circles, when the latter studiously shut up in seclusion their wives, daughters and sisters, and look upon some of the refined European customs and manners as offensive to the laws of modesty and decency. They further contend that friendliness, sociability and cordiality can never be one-sided; they must be spontaneous, mutual, and unrestrained, and this contention is perfectly right. But in the present state of Hindu society there is needed a great deal of forbearance and magnanimity on the part of our English rulers. It is not only that Hindu ladies and gentlemen have not by their education and refinement come to that pitch of civilization as to freely meet in social intercourse with any European nation, but unfortunately

their very religion and tradition come in their way. No sooner a Hindu is seen by his caste fellows busy with knife and fork on a plate of chops or beefsteaks than he is put down as one out of caste and polluted. The same is the case more or less with almost all the races in India except the Parsees. This is the only class that is prepared and fitted by its wealth, opulence, education and polished manners, to dine on the same board with any continental nation with honour to itself and its hosts. The stern obstinacy of the Hindus in refusing to join the Europeans in social intercourse brings to our recollection the memorable words of Shylock, "I will buy with you, sell with you, walk with you, but I will not eat with you, drink with you, nor pray with you." Fortunately the people that are always anxious to meet with the English rulers in friendly intercourse are that of the Mahomedans. These people are slowly tasting the fruits of English civilization, and it will be for the well-being of the English Government to improve the *status* and ameliorate the condition of their Mahomedan subjects who inhabit a large part of the country. With the exception of the educated Mahomedans who look upon an Englishman as a friend and patron, the bigoted portion, comprising innumerable Mahomedans, look upon everybody out of the pale of their religion as an unmitigated Kaffir.

Notwithstanding the sweeping remarks made by English public writers and Englishmen in India, a large portion of the Natives is sufficiently educated, and have undergone such a test of refinement as to do credit to any English society, or any European social circle. Formerly there used to be frequent social and friendly gatherings between the rulers and the ruled. In those days our English rulers were more isolated from their mother-country than now, and consequently they were obliged to look upon the natives as their companions. But such is not the case now. The communication between England and India is rendered very easy by the overland route, and consequently Englishmen of the present day do not care to be friendly with the subject races.



Moreover, English officials often draw their notion of Hindu character from low, mean and servile clerks and karkoons in their employ. The slovenly habits and mean dodges of these men create in their English superior a contempt for them, and he is inclined to judge of the whole race by these delectable specimens of humanity with whom he daily comes into contact. Thus arises the coldness and reserve on the part of the English rulers. This prejudicial impression in the minds of Englishmen does very often injustice to Native gentlemen of respectability, position and refinement. There are recorded instances of Native gentlemen of rank and position, waiting for hours among the servants of English gentlemen, when the former go on a visit to the latter at their villas or bungalows, without being taken any notice of. This sort of bitter experience is enough for Natives of refined feelings and possessing a sense of honour to keep themselves quite aloof from mixing with Englishmen, thus widening evermore the breach.

Of late a great interest is evinced in the discussion on the subject of social intercourse between Englishmen and the Natives of India, and impartial views on the question are given by some of the ablest English writers of the day in India. A distinguished writer says :—" Perhaps the system is to blame for this. As long as the annual reports are sent in, and the civil and the criminal returns show that the officials have done their work fairly, nothing more is asked, and nothing more is required. But disposing of criminal and judicial cases, or looking after the revenue and the roads, are surely not the sole ends of government, in a country held as India is held ; a race fond of external courtesies, setting an extraordinary value upon official rank and etiquette. The Governor of Bombay holds *levees* for native gentlemen, and invites them to a gardenparty once in a way, and such courtesies are appreciated and spoken of ; but what is wanted is, that such things should not be confined to Viceroys and Governors only. The collector in his district is a Governor, and is the representa-

"tive of the British power himself ; why, therefore, is it not  
 "possible to oblige him to maintain the dignity of his position by  
 "holding at least two or three *levees* a year in different parts of  
 "his district, with all the pomp that the local military or police  
 "can give to the scene ? The collector gets pay enough, and the  
 "least he might do is to spend a portion of it in illuminating his  
 "house or garden, and providing a display of fireworks, or in  
 "some such general entertainment to which all classes may be  
 "invited. The Roman Governors ruined themselves by spectacles  
 "of public shows ; we do not wish the English collectors to follow  
 "their example, but we do not see why they should not take some  
 "pride or some trouble in bringing the people together, and in  
 "winning local appreciation and popularity. At present the harsh,  
 "obtrusive side of their functions is thrust upon the public atten-  
 "tion, while all the softer social influences, which are not without  
 "their power, are entirely neglected. It is not, we think, too  
 "much to expect that collectors and judges should be obliged to  
 "maintain their position and promote a social intercourse between  
 "Natives and Europeans by cheap and popular entertainments as  
 "we describe. By throwing open to them more freely *durbars*,  
 "such as are referred to above, and by affording facilities for  
 "studying the non-official side of the European character, we may  
 "hope that in time as a new generation grows up, who have mixed  
 "with Europeans from their earliest years, the social attributes  
 "of our Native fellow subjects will more closely come up to our  
 "standard, and thus may we hope in time to bring about those  
 "kindlier feelings between the two races that are so desirable."

As a rule, Englishmen seldom take the trouble of seeing the  
 virtuous side of Native character, unless they be particularly  
 influenced by some personal interest or motive. Those who have  
 opportunities of knowing the Natives longest, have always the  
 best and the most unqualified opinion of them. There is no dis-  
 guising the fact that the stability of the English power in India  
 rests on the general opinion of the Natives as to the comparative



superiority in good faith, wisdom and strength of the English, to their own former Hindoo and Mahomedan rulers. This is a consummation devoutly to be wished for by every honest English member of the governing fraternity, and this end can be materially enhanced and strengthened by the consideration Englishmen show to the Indian habits, institutions, prejudices and time-honoured customs, and by the moderation, good temper and kindness with which they behave towards them. In conclusion, ladies and gentlemen, I have to thank you for the patient hearing you have been pleased to give me this evening.

The noble CHAIRMAN said he thought he might congratulate Mr. Dadysett upon the unusually large attendance of the Members of the Association, and upon the interest which the meeting had shown in the subject. The Chairman then invited the gentlemen present to make any remarks upon the paper which had been just read, and said that it might promote discussion if he now made some observations upon it. He entirely sympathized with the object Mr. Ginwalla had in view, but he differed with him entirely as to the means which he had advocated. In the first place, he doubted the wisdom of the proposal in the paper to bring Parsi ladies into mixed company. *The Indian Spectator*, edited, he believed, by a Parsi gentleman, had quite recently recommended the friends of a Hindu lady who had been lecturing not to bring her out again into mixed company, As to the wish of Mr. Ginwalla that Hindus should be more received into the company of English ladies, he thought this the very reverse of the right course to pursue. Collectors and other high officials ought to be encouraged by Government to set aside one evening in the week during which they would, in the absence of the ladies of their family, but assisted by their official subordinates, receive all Indians who might choose to visit them. In this way they might become mutually better acquainted, and many natives of India would come to them who would not come if subject to the restraint of the presence of ladies. If there were no other objection to the presence

of ladies, that of language would be sufficient, as their presence would have the effect of restricting the conversation to English. Moreover, in all countries, national and race prejudices were more accentuated, and more strongly felt and shown by the women than by the men. In the absence of the women, also, it is much more easy for men of different ranks and classes to mix freely together; and Lane, in his Notes to his "Arabian Nights," has pointed out that the separation of the sexes in public has acted beneficially in this respect, and in producing that generality of good manners which is to be found in Asia. Indeed it might be said that from the point of view of social intercourse between Europeans and the natives of India, it would be better if no civilian under the rank of a collector or a judicial officer were married. In India a great deal too much time was given to the amusement of the European ladies, and it would be better for the administration of India if more of them were *purdah nushin* instead of their attempting to bring the Hindu ladies out from behind the curtains. No doubt the greater number of Englishwomen in India, now, as compared with the period before the overland route, had caused the greater inaccessibility of English officials in India, their diminished familiarity with the Indian languages, and their diminished interest in Indian customs, literature, and antiquities. Mr. Ginwalla also appeared to have under-rated the merits of the Hindu ladies, and to have been unmindful of the names of Savitri, Sakuntala, Saguna, Tara, and Seeta, which he might have appealed to in order to induce some of the wives of the higher officials, who from long residence in India might have acquired sufficient knowledge of the languages of India, to set apart some of their time for receiving their Indian sisters alone during the office hours of their own husbands, in conformity with the custom of Asia; and thereby creating an opportunity of breaking down that barrier of ignorance which now prevents those feelings of friendliness and mutual esteem which might otherwise spring up between the Hindu and English ladies. Sir William Wedderburn has recently written to *The Bombay Gazette* urging the establishment of a journal to be called



the "Voice of India," which should reproduce the most deserving of the articles in the Vernacular Press. Such a journal ought to find sufficient support amongst the higher officials, and it might forward the object aimed at by the paper which had been read that day.

The Rajah RAMPAL SINGH said that as a Member of the Council of the Association he had received an advance copy of the paper read by Mr. Dadysett, and he had given it an attentive perusal. He had therefore no hesitation in saying that it was an indictment for the most part unfairly drawn, for it fails to do justice to the English in India. (Hear, hear.) It praises the Parsees indeed, but its measure of judgment upon all the other races of India is by no means so liberal; and the lecturer certainly does not love the Mahomedans. (Hear, hear.) Of some of the remarks made, it was not too much to say that they were calculated to do much harm, and to injure that growth of good feeling which has been spreading since the visit of his Royal Highness the Prince of Wales to India. The peculiar method of the able lecturer was best shown by an example or two. Thus, he says: "The Parsees are Anglicized in their manners, they are refined in their views and modes of thought, and to them alone the English can safely apply for any friendly advice in solving any knotty questions of misunderstanding or ill-feeling between Europeans and Natives." Now, the Parsees are, after all, a mere handful of people living in one of the corners of India. They do not freely mix with the real natives of India; they meet in intercourse only occasionally. For English rulers to have recourse to Parsees for "friendly advice" is to ask them for what they have no true experience of; it is like one foreigner seeking the counsel of another. (Hear, hear.) In another place, the lecturer says:—"As a rule an Englishman does not like the natives; they are hateful to him, and he would be glad to avoid coming in contact with them." Now he must deny that altogether—(hear, hear.)—and also that other assertion that, "Tradition teaches a Hindu to look

“upon a foreigner as an interloper, and something of the old tradition remains to entitle a white-skinned Englishman to delight in calling a Hindu a ‘nigger.’” That tradition, he must own, he had never heard of before ; and as far as Englishmen are concerned, he did not believe that the term “nigger” was ever used except by low-class “roughs,” and even then, as often as not, the Englishman was using a term that he applied to everybody who was not of his own colour, and deriving a word from Latin to apply a contemptuous epithet. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Ginwalla says that “the slovenly habit of the natives—which is not, if true, “peculiarly applicable to Hindus, but to all natives of India—is “an imaginary grievance of Englishmen in India. They consider “a Hindu wanting in personal cleanliness.” This assertion he must also deny ; no intelligent Englishman could entertain the idea ; the contrary is notorious ; it is in direct opposition to the tenets of their religion. Mr. Ginwalla attributes the supposed prejudice of Englishmen to the *dhotie* and the *angarkha* “which greatly help to assimilate “a high-caste Hindu with a *pariah*.” This is surely an absurd statement when it is remembered that Hindus are freely admitted to *durbars* and other Government ceremonies, and to social assemblies. He had never heard the objection raised by any English gentleman ; and he knew that whenever any Hindu gentlemen and ladies broke down their reserve, or overcame their traditions, so far as to make some approach towards Englishmen, they were received with the utmost cordiality and kindness. Another illustration of Mr. Ginwalla’s peculiar method of establishing native claims is afforded in the following quotation :—“As a rule the Hindn has a smooth tongue “and a propensity to flatter. If he is asked to give his opinion “on a given subject, he generally re-echoes your own sentiments, and “acts in such a manner that you can very soon come to the conclusion that he was, more or less, wanting in truthfulness and “fair play. On the other hand, if he were to show himself less “complaisant and speak out his own mind unreservedly, he would



“unfortunately be put down by our English friend as disloyal, insolent, cheeky, and as one who is making a very bad use of his “university education.” And then Mr. Ginwalla ventures the astonishing assertion that, a “claim is raised by Englishmen to abolish “colleges and reduce the standard of university education, which, in “their opinion, tends to breed and nourish a set of discontented, half-“educated, vain-glorious, and conceited babblers.” This is surely a marvellous statement when it is known that Englishmen support and subscribe to these institutions, and that Lord Ripon has spoken strongly in advocacy of education, the basis of all reform, and urged Indians to found and support schools, independently of the Government, on the voluntary system. It would be fairer—it would be most fair—to say that Englishmen in India desire, not to suppress schools, but to constantly improve them.

Mr. ABDPOOL MASJID said that he regarded the subject before the meeting as a very important one, for it concerned the stability of the British Empire in India. That being so, he felt it a duty to offer whatever information he possessed on the subject from the native experience and knowledge that he possessed of the opinions of the natives on the subject. It was a fact well known in India that the treatment of natives by Englishmen was very much decried, and it was a matter of complaint that Englishmen who go from this country to India—young gentlemen having no experience of Indian matters—feeling themselves upheld by the powers in which they are clothed, at once despise the natives and regard them as below themselves. They consider themselves quite superior to the natives in every matter and every thing. The gentleman who read the paper discussed why the Englishmen and the natives do not mix, and he concluded, though indirectly, because the natives keep their family so secluded. But he (the speaker) in connection with this would ask, that apart from any social consideration of a family, with family in what way do the English treat the native gentlemen ; even the respectable people who pay visits to them ? He could in

India refer to instances, but will not do so, as they would be thought very disgraceful to natives and such as would cause a feeling of shame in Englishmen. (Murmurs of dissent, and a voice : " Will the speaker give instances ?") To this the speaker replied. I would have given instances, but as I have to go back to India, I refrain from particularizing them. (" Oh" and laughter.) Proceeding, the speaker said that here in England we are free, we can speak our minds, but India is quite different ; there we cannot assert ourselves and have not a chance of opening our lips without prejudicing ourselves. With much contained in the paper he agreed. He, however, thought it somewhat partial, and that its partiality must have arisen from ignorance of the case of people in other provinces of India, or it must have been caused by the writer not being well acquainted with the facts of the matter in consideration.

Mr. DADYSETT : My remarks apply to the Bombay Presidency.

Mr. MASJID, resuming, said that in that case he would forbear from dwelling any longer on that topic. Something, however, was said about Mahomedans who were educated having regard and affection for Englishmen, while those who were not educated were bigoted and opposed to the English and considered, them Kaffirs. He was at a loss to know where the writer had received this exceptional opinion, for he held that Mahomedans as a community, were quite as loyal as other natives ; and he would ask the lecturer to cite instances in which Mahomedans had given evidence of disloyalty (Hear, hear.) If this remark as to disloyalty was applicable to Mahomedans it could as rightly be applied to all the other nationalities in India. (Hear, hear.) With regard to the exclusiveness of natives from the English society in India he thought that it is certainly produced by the consideration that the English were allowed to enjoy all the good offices to the exclusion of natives. The natives get comparatively



nothing. He, therefore, agreed with the lecturer in his remarks on this point. Then the lecturer had properly complained of the treatment of natives in respect of their being kept waiting by the Englishmen when on a visit to the latter. This was true; indeed there were many present who could tell how they had been treated in this particular. In concluding, Mr. Masjid said he had spoken his mind freely, but it would be seen that with certain exceptions he agreed with the paper.

Mr. H. M. HYNDMAN said that he had come to the meeting intending to be a listener and not a speaker, but he would venture to say a few words on the subject before, because the three native gentlemen who had spoken had exemplified, unconsciously, what was one of the difficulties of the British rule in India. The three gentlemen showed that we have to deal in India with a great variety of races, with very different characteristics, who do not agree among themselves as to the manner in which they should be treated. What Mr. Ginwalla thought essential, the Rajah Rampal Singh considered injurious, and Mr. Majid differed from both. An arrangement which would suit a Parsee excited the jealousy of a Hindu, and did not to conciliate the Mahomedan of the North-West. From this we may well appreciate the great difficulties which beset an English official in India even where he is most anxious to conciliate the people. It had always struck him as strange in connection with our rule in India and the system of administration which we had set up, that while in the days before our *regime* there was no sense of inferiority felt by a Hindu who took a high position under a Mahomedan ruler, that feeling is manifest now (No.) He had been informed by men who had distinguished themselves in the Government service that this was a common feeling, and that they were made to feel that their social position was not that of their British compeers. This disposition did not appear to exist under the old Mahomedan administration. Todar Mall, for instance, held absolutely equal status

with the Mahomedans under the great Akbar, and if anything he was the most favoured of the ministers of the monarch. He was far from thinking this difficulty of securing the confidence and regard of the natives of India was insuperable; indeed, he saw men in the room who had overcome the difficulty. But a great difficulty it was, nevertheless, and changes in the administrative system of India had not tended to reduce it. In the old days men went out to India at an earlier age than now, and were thus more susceptible to new impressions and not fixed deeply to European customs; and they served without the frequent breaks now customary; and the history of India shows that all those who have got on best with the natives have been men who landed in India as youths, have really lived in the country, and have attained social relation with the people. Mr. Hyndman recalled the fact that the East India Association was founded, amidst difficulty, to bring about the social relationship between Englishmen and Indians which all desired. Such a meeting as the present, where Englishmen of all classes met on terms of perfect equality natives of many different provinces of India, and conversed in friendly fashion on the needs of the Great Dependency, was one way to bring about the desired result. But in India this sociability is still more needed. Mr. Hyndman proceeded to avow his belief that India could not be governed successfully from London, and that the best thing we can do is to consider how we can best retire from the country. (Dissent.) Our rule in India has been injurious to the people, he believed—(No.)—and famines and starvation are the result of our enormous drafts upon the country. (Question.) In conclusion, Mr. Hyndman said, he knew that there were many Englishmen who were looked upon with the greatest regard by the natives; and he was disposed to believe that this was an increasing class, but he held nevertheless that the difficulties in the way of materially improving the social intercourse between rulers and ruled in India were so great, as to give little room for expectation that the British Rule in India would be popularized.



MIRZA PEER BUKHSH said he rose with pleasure to compliment his countryman and fellow-subject on the able paper read by him. He agreed with many points in it, but there were some things in which he differed. India has a population of 250 millions, and the Parsees number only about 100,000, so that it was not right to point to the Parsees as the representatives of the natives of India. About 60 millions were Mahomedans and the other 190 millions Hindoos, including the Bramahs, the Bancans, the Sudras, the Rajpoots, &c. Then against this vast number it must be remembered that the ruling power—England—has but a population of 35 millions, so that there are seven Indians to one Englishman, so that it would best for the ruling power, as well as being its duty to do its best for that large population and try to make them happy; as regards social intercourse, he (the speaker) thought the natives would be glad to have the English mix with them more than they do, but the fact was the English man would not. The official Englishman considers himself, compared with the native, something more than human, a kind of demigod; nobody can approach him. Mr. Ginwalla said the Parsees and their ladies mix with the Europeans, but the others cannot. Englishmen don't like to mix with the natives generally, and they being rulers perhaps are right. Another matter he wished to speak of was education. He contended it was the duty of the Government to see that the Indian people are educated. The income of the country is 75 millions, but the Government only allow £750,000, just 1 per cent. on the income, for education. Hence, hardly 1 per cent. of the population is being educated. He complained that so much should be charged to India for pay, of officials, and urged that much of this should be borne by the English Government, as well as a share of other expenses. He was very much afraid, the rulers of India if they did not take care, would have reason to repent their dealings with the finances of India, Russia is approaching India. In the space of two years she has advanced 600 miles, and although personally he wished

she was thousands of miles away—for he was afraid Russia would ruin India—he felt the proximity of Russia would make a difference to England and the best way to avoid this would be by concessions, so that the natives would find it to their interest to defend English interests. This was all the more necessary when it was considered that 200 millions are ruled directly by England, with 60,000 English troops, or 3333½ Indian and one English soldier, and if to native troops be added, say about 140,000, or in all English and native troops, 200,000 against 200,000,000, or 1,000 Indians against one soldier. For example, if you have a flock of sheep, say 100, and to keep them in order there requires two dogs and two shepherds, and in India you have one soldier to rule 1,000 Indians, it proves by the above that Indians are humane and loyal and faithful to their rulers, The best way to secure the loyalty of the people would be, not by increase of troops, but by taking care of the poor and relieving them from heavy taxation. The rich could be trusted to look after themselves.

Mr. J. E. MODI said the lecture was on a subject which very naturally gave cause for difference of opinion between Englishmen and Natives in India, but he apprehended from the opening remarks that the too laudatory opinions expressed about the Parsees proceeded rather from Mr. Ginwalla, than from Mr. Dadysett. He could well imagine an erratic gentleman of Mr. Ginwalla's peculiar fancies and quixotic opinions, saying things about his community which under all circumstances might be better left unsaid. It appeared to be usual with the natives to lay all the blame of the difficulties of the social intercourse with Europeans on the latter, and to ignore their own shortcomings. There was, however, another side of the question to look to, he referred particularly to the peculiar circumstances and conditions of Indian society. Allusion had been made in the lecture to the system of Caste, and that he regarded as one of the greatest difficulties. He thought it might be taken for granted that as



long as Caste prejudices would prevent the people of India from mixing among themselves, like feelings would more strongly operate to check association with those who are foreigners, *i.e.*, not only distinct in their nationality, but alien alike in their habits and mode of thinking. There was another matter which he thought ought to be attended to. It was for the educated Indians to exercise the right sort of influence in breaking down the existing barriers. Indian gentlemen come over to England, they stay here for some years, acquire cultivated habits of mind and refined manners, but when they return to India, they very often seem to leave these behind them, or at least do not seem to possess them. They do not seem to progress, perhaps because they are no longer under the civilizing and humanizing influences exerted upon them during their stay in England, and they with very rare exceptions revert to their old habits. This he thought was much to be regretted. Indian gentlemen who have been in England seven, eight, or ten years, ought to be sufficiently imbued with English ideas to be in a position to attempt to initiate some kind of reform within their domestic circle, which in course of time would spread in gradually increasing circles into the different sections of India society, and might eventually alter it for the better. Perhaps the customs and habits of their own country are too strong for them to resist. Still there is no reason why they should not struggle against the beneficial influences of the Caste system. There are many prejudices in India which at first sight seem very difficult to overcome. But they give way to a little effort of the right sort. He believed this would ultimately prove to be the case with the apparently insurmountable difficulty of domestic reform, if the educated Indians would take this matter up seriously and earnestly. They might begin by small reforms in their own home-life : try to make their homes the centre from which might radiate the same kind of chastening influences that they experience in English homes, and then they will succeed better in promoting social intercourse. This, to a

certain extent, is being now done but the efforts of some of these reformers have not been attended with any very great success. And this task may well nigh seem hopeless as long as moral courage and independence of character will be found wanting among the educated natives. He referred particularly to such cases as of those who have been to England, and from whom, naturally, the most is expected and who will submit to degrading ceremonies in order to be re-admitted into their caste. Too much, he believed, was made of English exclusiveness. So far as one could judge, the majority of them do what lies in their power to promote friendly feeling, and it were better that the natives, on their part, met them half way. The best way to bring this about was to introduce such education in native homes as would elevate the family, raise the social status of the native ladies, and, by so giving them their right position in society, make it possible for them to mix more freely in social gatherings. The objections raised by the English, and which have been mentioned in the lecture, are at present only too true. The only way to meet them was for the natives to make a movement among themselves for such reforms as would tend to break down the barriers of caste, and would enable them to combat successfully with the innumerable prejudices which such a system as caste engenders.

The Rev. JAMES JOHNSTON said he thought Englishmen were scarcely getting fair play in the discussion, and, as he himself was a Scotsman, he ventured to offer himself as an impartial arbiter. (Laughter.) He thought the native gentlemen who had spoken did not sufficiently realize the difficulties that Englishmen have to contend with in India. There was, first, the climate. Former conquerors in the East have come from regions not far different in their character from the climate of India, so that it was easy for them to dwell amongst its people. The great success of the Greeks was due, in part, to the fact that after their conquests they settled down on the lands and became colo-



nists, and lived on harmonious and intimate terms with the natives, communicating their language, their manners, and their arts. Alexander founded a Greek colony in a place as far remote as Afghanistan. In this way the conquerers were placed on a social line with the conquered, and an interchange of thought and feeling took place. But, with regard to the English in India, matters were entirely different. By the very nature of their constitution and the climate in which they have been born they cannot be at home in India, they cannot bring up their children there, and a limited sojourn is, in most cases, a necessity. Social relations have, therefore, not a fair chance of growing up. Anything like hauteur or harshness in the manner or bearing of Englishmen in their official, commercial, or social intercourse with the natives of India, he depreciates and denounces them as unworthy of our manhood and opposite to the character of Christian gentlemen. Mr. Ginwalla seemed to suggest that those who are friendly and courteous among the English in India are rather the exceptions, whereas he (the speaker) was strongly of opinion that the exception was the other way. (Hear, hear.) From his knowledge of Englishmen abroad he had not found that they were generally harsh or unkind to people with whom, they came into contact. There was often coldness of manner, which sprang from no want of feeling : it was a national characteristic, often hiding a nature of the deepest and quickest sympathies. (Hear, hear.) But that is no reason why Englishmen should not endeavour to get rid of that apparent asperity or haughtiness of manner, and they might learn something from the natives of India in that respect. . He was glad to hear the last native speaker admit that there was a reasonable excuse for Englishmen, and it would be well for native gentlemen to understand that the difficulties opposing improved social intercourse originated more with the natives than the English. Englishmen saw that men of one caste refused to look kindly upon the men of lower castes, and regarded them as inferior creatures, often conducting themselves worse

than the Englishman they complained of. These caste distinctions, while they stood in the way of that intimate *social* intercourse which in England was so closely bound up with our eating and drinking customs, need be no barrier to the most familiar and friendly intercourse in all the relations of daily life, both public and private. Englishmen found that if they mixed themselves up with one set or caste of natives, and were "hail-fellow well met" with them, they were looked upon with increased jealousy and suspicion by the rest of the people. (Hear, hear.) So that with all due regard for the effect of kindness of manner, we must come back to the basis of British influences in India, and remember that the beneficence of our intercourse with the people rests upon righteousness and truth in personal character, and justice, administered with the greatest kindness but also with firmness. Our position in India as a conquering race and a ruling power makes that position difficult and, in some respects, a beneficent anomaly. If it be desired to get rid of the anomalies of the British rule in India they must begin by getting rid of the English administration altogether, for the greatest of all anomalies was that of an English Viceroy ruling 200 millions of Orientals from Calcutta. (Hear, hear.) But was that a course that any intelligent native of India could honestly desire and recommend for the good of his country? (Hear, hear.) They know very well that the British rule gives them order and justice and kind treatment, such as they never met with from the preceding conquerors of India, and there have been many. (Hear, hear.) As for the famines being attributable to the British rule in India, it was patent that by our care in preserving the lives of the Indian peoples they were multiplying in a way they never did before. Where wars, civil disorders, misgovernment, and pestilence all combined to reduce, or retard, the increase of population the British administration all tended in the opposite direction, and perhaps, the means of life had not kept pace with the measures for preserving it. His own conviction was that it was in educa



tion that the true solution of the difficulty was to be found. By the spread of education alone did he see any issue from the great difficulty of the food supply of the people. Generous education of the right sort, pervading the masses of the people from the highest to the lowest, and not confined to the few, would enable the people to take more care of their own humble produce, to cultivate the soil so as to best develop its natural resources, and to avail themselves of the many benefits open to them under a strong, peaceful, and just rule.

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD said that as the company present would be pretty well agreed as to the conclusion set forth in the paper, it might be more profitable for him to vindicate two or three points to which criticism might be applied. Great stress had been laid on the position of the Parsees, and while he agreed cordially with what was said of them, he asked the meeting to remember the relative proportion which the Parsee bears to the whole population of India. He said this in view of the remark in the paper: "If the English nation want to know the real character of the Hindoos and the Mahomedans, they must look to the Parsees." Many present would know the Parsee people intimately in all the relations of life, through having mixed with them in public affairs and otherwise, constantly and as far as their influence and their number go—and their influence is great in proportion to their numbers—they are a very considerable support to the English rule, but it might be very misleading to accept the Parsee's estimate of the Hindoo or Mussulmen communities. *Apropos* of that he wished the writer of the paper had said a little more about the Mussulman population. There was a passing remark on that subject (pages 11 and 12), but that was exceedingly brief. Their president of the day, he (Mr. Wood) thought would agree with him on this point, because it was well known that his lordship has strong sympathies with this part of India's population, and that he recognizes and appreciates their influence

and the very large part they have in everything that relates to the interests of our Indian Empire and the improvement of the people of India. He (Mr. Wood) would also remind the meeting that the late Meadows Taylor in his works, though written ostensibly on the Mahrattas, showed the strongest sympathy with the Mussulman population, and much that he wrote in the "Noble Queen," and other works, must be of great value to all who study the subject. Reverting to the paper, Mr. Wood said that a short passage on pages 9 and 10, was really the pith of the whole matter, for it was true that the stability of the empire must rest on the contentment and happiness of the people. No doubt everything that related to the bearing and attitude of the rulers toward the ruled was of vital importance, the substantial question was, How are the people provided for; how do they live under our rule? In the passage he referred to stress was properly laid on the necessity of reducing the heavy military expenditure of India. In the sentence or two in which this was expressed, he (Mr. Wood) fully concurred. For his own part he could easily gather what was intended by the writer about the nett revenues of India, but it would not be so clear on the surface to others. So he ventured to suggest to Mr. Ginwalla that it would be well for him to set out the figures of expenditure and income which go to prove his contention. The general statement about 65 per cent. of the nett revenue taken as it stood, would probably elicit, as in the instance the other day of the new Under-Secretary of State for India, regarding a remark of Mr. Hyndman: the charge of exaggeration. He (Mr. Wood) and others present, knew that the estimate of the large proportion of military expenditure was substantially correct; and it might as well be figured out in the record of the proceedings of the meeting. He was glad to notice that the writer made generous acknowledgement of the service of many Englishmen, whose names were revered in India. In connection with this recognition, he should like to mention one current instance in



that of Sir Wm. Wedderburn, brother of a former highly respected and deeply regretted member of the Association, the late Sir David Wedderburn. (Hear, hear.) As that gentleman was now on his way to England, this was, perhaps, the only chance there might be of speaking so freely on that personal topic. Therefore, he (Mr. Wood) might take the liberty of quoting from a Bombay journal just to hand, *The Indian Spectator* to the following effect :—

“Sir William Wedderburn took leave of Poona under circumstances peculiarly gratifying. His last week there was divided between giving a last touch, so to say, to his numerous philanthropic schemes and attending farewell meetings in his honour. He was busy with work for the people till within half an hour of his departure, and was seen off the station by some of the principal inhabitants with feelings such as are seldom evoked at the departure of official magnates. Sir William is perhaps the most popular Englishman of the day, especially in Kattywar and the Deccan ; popular not only as an officer, but as a friend of the people, emphatically as one of them in all the larger concerns of life. He goes home on Friday, having best utilized his two week's sojourn in this city ; and very keen and widespread is the regret at his temporary absence.”

It might be said that there was nothing peculiarly exceptional in the services thus warmly eulogized in that reference ; and in all probability Sir William Wedderburn would disclaim any special merit for himself. But while there are many Indian officers who freely cultivate intercourse with the native community, there are others who shrink from what they may regard as extraneous services or efforts on behalf of the people. He (Mr. Wood) was well aware how closely the time of Indian officials was occupied, and how laborious are their duties ; but the appreciation shown for Sir William Wedderburn and others mentioned in the paper ought to furnish an incentive to Anglo-Indians to take a little extra trouble in promoting social intercourse with the people. Such a course would not only bring comfort and satisfaction to themselves, but would have the result of reconciling the people to their rulers, and extending the good influence of the British rule (Applause.)

Sir W. ROSE ROBINSON deprecated the political turn given both to the paper read and discussion which had ensued in a meeting summoned avowedly to consider a social question. He would not follow in this direction, but confine himself to the question of social intercourse. The general aspersion conveyed by the reader of the paper against Europeans could only be adequately met by the simple declaration that they were not true. The difficulty in the way of true social intercourse lay in the caste question. This he illustrated by showing the treatment which even Indian gentlemen who venture to come to England for purposes of study to compete for the Civil Service and the like, meet on their return to India at the hands of their relations and countrymen. Social intercourse is denied them ; they are excommunicated, and even expelled the family circle. Social courtesies may be exchanged and ostensibly maintained. Social intercourse in its true sense is barred by the spirit and system of caste. The obstacle and difficulty lie with the natives themselves.

Rev. J. LONG, referring to what had been said on the subject of promoting social intercourse between Europeans and natives of India, said that this had been the object of various men for very many years past. For instance, more than twenty years ago he had called on Lord Shaftesbury regarding this subject. His lordship cordially concurred in his (Mr. Long's) views, and said, "The best way I can show it is by inviting natives and Europeans to a party at my house ; do ye select the natives." He (Mr. Long) did so. They first dined with his lordship, and in the evening there was a large party to meet them. On going out to India he called on Bishop Cotten with the same object, and he at once acceded, and used to invite natives and Europeans together to a social gathering at his house. Bishop Milman, his successor, continued them. He suggested that the practice of having "at homes" should be encouraged and extended by officials in India, for the social intercourse that followed such gatherings was most beneficial. Something was being done in another way. The national India Association, the hon. secretary of which (Miss Manning) he saw present, laboured indefatigably in the direction of breaking down the barriers to intercourse ; and by



its work, both in India and England, it was doing service by bringing native and European gentlemen together to talk of matters affecting India. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. R. B. SWINTON said he did not know whether the story which had occurred to him would be appropriate after the grave and tender toned remarks of the last speaker—a story well-known to natives. Four blind men wanted to see an elephant ; so one felt its leg, another its trunk, another its ear, and another its tail. The first said the elephant was like a mortar, the cylindrical block of wood ; another that it was like a pestle, a thick heavy stick. The third, that an elephant resembled a winnowing fan, and the fourth, that it was like a brush. The moral being, every set had its dispute about God not being reachable by human thought. The moral was not so great here, but the speaker remarked how people who had not been in India noticed how Anglo-Indians differed, and he was surprised that on such a familiar topic as that under discussion there had not been more difference as to the paper itself, he must say it gave a very partial view of a large subject, and he regretted that the author had thought proper to speak of “vipers,” and “John Bulls,” and “Low Pariahs,” forgetting that the last were rising in number and importance, especially that having been as the giver of the paper showed, he should refer to the native subordinates, Kar-koons, and others, as low mean servile. There was no time for detailed criticism ; but of course there was, as everybody knew, some truth in what the native gentleman who spoke from the other end of the room, had said about native gentlemen being kept waiting, and the brusque manners of officials.

The Noble CHAIRMAN having called upon Mr. Dadysett to offer a few observations by way of reply to the criticisms which had been made.

Mr. M. D. DADYSETT said the discussion had been so prolonged and the points raised so numerous, that it would be impossible to deal with them adequately in the very brief space of time he could venture to detain the meeting. At the outset he might say that a good many speakers had forgotten that it was expressly stated, that the paper read was an expression of the sentiments of Mr. Ginwalla. He said, with due deference to the chairman, that his Lordship's views were more or less coloured by the opi-

nion which appeared in a recent number of *The Indian Spectator*, which he thought to be the partial opinion of an individual writer. It appeared to him that his Lordship thought, from his remarks on Hindoo ladies, that he, the lecturer, under-rated them ; but the fact is, that what he had said of them was from a general point of view. Referring to the next speaker, Rajah Rampal Singh, the lecturer said that though he spoke of having perviously studied the paper, he failed to convince him, for if he had only perused carefully the whole of the paper, he would never have made the remark that injustice was done to the English. Without going further into the refutation of the remark, the lecturer said that he would content himself by quoting the words of Mr. Martin Wood on the subject. He says, "He was glad to notice that there was "a generous acknowledgment of the services of many English-men in the paper," etc. Reverting to the Rajah's remark, he said that it was absolutely without foundation. Referring to the Rajah's remarks as regards the Parsees, the lecturer said that the Rajah did not in any way seem acquainted with the Parsees and the general appreciation of their services by the English. Certainly, it would be expecting too much of him to know anything about the Parsee character, coming as he does direct from the north-western part of India, where he could very seldom have had any opportunity of meeting the Parsee. As to the Parsee living in a corner of India, the Rajah seemed to labour under a great misconception about the importance of Bombay, which was and is, and always will be, the first city in India, and which in no sense is a corner of the world, as the Rajah's residence in London is. The Rajah having commented upon his words, "that as a "rule an Englishman does not like the natives," he would simply draw attention to the speeches of subsequent speakers, by which he was borne out on the point, and which directly contradict the Rajah's statement. As to the next speaker, Mr. Abdul Masjid's remarks, they contradicted those of the previous speaker, and Mr. Abdul Masjid's remarks were in his opinion entitled to more weight than those of the Rajah, as he belonged to the same province as the Rajah, who had been nearly Anglicized by his prolonged stay in this country, and who by this time must have lost



a great deal of his Indian ideas. As to Mr. Abdul Masjid's assertion that he imputed disloyalty to the Mahomedans, he denied the charge, and assured him that he had not intimated anything of the kind in the course of his paper. Alluding to Mr. Hyndman's comments, he said that without going into details, he fully sympathized and concurred with a great many of his remarks, except the latter, from which he differed. Pointing to the able remarks of Mr. Wood, who dwelt at length upon the line of arguments he had adopted, he believed they practically showed that he was in the right, particularly as Mr. Wood had some Indian experience. As the next speaker, Mirza Peer Bukhsh, he agreed to with him. The next speaker, Mr. E. J. Modi, he believed had adopted the proper line of argument, and he had no hesitation in saying that he fully concurred with every one of the views so ably expressed by him. He admitted the fault did not altogether rest with Englishmen. (Hear, hear.) And he would be extremely sorry to hear that he was understood to find fault with only the English; on the contrary, he had often come across the best specimens of courteous Englishmen, but he could not say so always. (Hear, hear.) That the natives of India themselves were, to a certain extent, to blame, was also his own view, as expressed by his friend, Mr. Modi. As to the next speaker, the Rev. J. Johnstone, he had very little to say, as he had adopted a line of argument different from the usual run. He would only add that the previous speakers had sufficiently pointed out the various disadvantages the natives laboured under, so he would not go over the ground. As to the next speaker, Mr. Martin Wood, he would only say that he distinctively supported his views, and certainly Mr. Wood's opinions were entitled to every respect, as he had spent a great part of his time in Bombay. He fully endorsed Mr. Wood's remarks on the latter part of his paper, and fervently desired that there were one thousand more Wedderburns. As to Sir W. Robinson's remark, he would only make a few observations. Sir W. Robinson had ventured the assertion that his statements were untrue; as to which he need only draw his attention to Mr. Hyndman's remarks on the point. He should also have remembered that, although his experience in India had

been great, it had not been universal. Those who had come into much contact with the young British civilian would understand that Sir W. Robinson's experience must have been peculiarly fortunate, if he was satisfied with them all. The next speaker, the Rev. J. Long, who has had an ample experience of Indian life, had practically supported the same line of argument for promoting social intercourse advocated in the paper. He endorsed every word spoken by the Rev. Mr. Long as to the exertion made by the National Indian Association to promote social intercourse between Europeans and natives of India; and specially the disinterested exertions of the Hon. Secretary, Miss E. A. Manning, were beyond all praise. He went further, and said that the efforts now made by the Northbrook Indian Society, and in particular by Lord Northbrook as chairman, assisted by Sir Barrow H. Ellis and Mr. G. S. V. Fitzgerald as vice-chairman, to promote social intercourse between Englishmen and natives of India, are most warmly appreciated, not only in England but throughout India. (Hear, hear.) He ventured to assert that their exertions though slow were sure, and that they will eventually become recognized throughout India as the pioneers of social intercourse with Englishmen (Hear, hear.) In conclusion he thanked the ladies and gentlemen for the courtesy and attention they had extended to the reading of Mr. Ginwall's paper. (Hear, hear.)

The Rajah RAMPAL SINGH proposed a cordial vote of thanks to the Right Honourable Lord Stanley of Alderley for his able conduct in the chair.

Mr. M. D. DADYSETT second the motion, which was cordially adopted, and his Lordship bowed his acknowledgments.

The sitting then terminated.

*The following letter was sent to Mr. Dadysett which at his request is inserted.*

ST. STEPHEN'S CLUB,

8th February, 1883.

MY DEAR MR. DADYSETT,

I was very sorry not to be able to speak on Mr. Ginwalla's paper yesterday, but the political turn the discussion took put it out of my power.



I sympathize with the greater part of all you said, and heartily approved of the excellent spirit in which you treated your subject. You were blamed for want of tact in standing by the Parsees so strongly. But you did what, being a Parsee, you ought to have done, and I hope will do again and again ; you spoke from your heart, and the truth of your heart. You must ever do so,—and you will find, moreover, that the truth is always in the end the highest tact.

I should have taken very much Mr. Mody's line in my remarks. The improvement of social relations between Europeans and natives in India is of considerable importance. The natives are loyal to us, they recognize that our government is more strong, more just, than any which preceded it ; and it is painful to know that, notwithstanding this, they find it more irritating to their susceptibilities. But too much may be made of the elements of repulsion which mutually separate us : and I would myself leave them as much as possible to the silent and beneficent mediation of time.

It is impossible that two people, each so unique in their own way, as the English and Hindus—and you, Parsees and Mussulmans, in India are all Hindus—should come into contact, and not experience mutual repulsion as well as attraction :—only the repulsion is but for a time, while the attraction is for ever. We belong to the same stock, and in returning to India, after long wanderings from our common home in Central Asia, we but return to a country peopled by men of our own Aryan blood. But meanwhile we have developed in a distant island of the Atlantic a highly specialized race and culture, and you, Hindus, and Hinduized Parsees and Mussulmans, as independently formed and strongly marked a race and culture of your own ; while the isolation in which the race of Brahminical Hindus has been produced in India has not been due to the Himalayas, as some argue, but has been artificially created by the Code of Manu.

There is the rub. The repulsion between us is more due to your Caste system than to any exclusive spirit on our part. Remember how when a native was made a judge the other day in Calcutta, and was invited by the native pleaders to a dinner in honour of the event, yet because he was not of so high a division of the Brahminical Caste as his hosts, they occupied the chief inner room, while he, one of the judges of the Calcutta High Court, was relegated to a lower outside one, and had to sit outside with Brahmins of a lower order. You know very well that when a Hindu shakes hands with a European he has immediately

afterwards to go and ceremonially cleanse himself from the assumed pollution. And then there is your unmanly treatment of woman. All these things should be considered before we English people are blamed for our insular social customs, and manners, and bearing. We, on the other side, ought to allow more than the ignorant among us do for a people who have sat behind the Himalayas for 3,000 years under the blight of the Brahminical law, and who now find themselves suddenly overtaken by a flood-tide of English freedom,—free laws, free speech, free trade, free thought, free morals and a free world, and a free course in it for everybody. That is really where we wound the susceptibilities of the sacro-sanct people of India.

Particularly, you educated native gentlemen should make the utmost allowance for any reticence of manner, and airs of exclusiveness you may observe in Englishmen in their social relations with the people of India: for when after years spent in England you return to India, you feel as acutely as any Englishman the gulf your superior, or rather, I would say, your modern Western culture has placed between you and your own countrymen who have always stayed in their antique Eastern home. But this will all pass as the people of India come to know more and more of English culture, which has an immense attraction for them, and the people of England come to know more and more of Hindu culture, of which unfortunately they are all still very ignorant, but which the loving labours of Professors Max Müller and Monier Williams are surely, if slowly, making plainer to their understanding. The good change will come before you have reached your three score years and ten. Meanwhile, always speak as kindly of us as you can in truth, and particularly of our young civilian and soldier, "boys of nineteen," on whom you dress so hardly. Think of the countless faces you have seen in *The Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic*, for these five years past, of breadless boys who have died in battle for our common Aryan civilization. Neither in less glorious paths of human duty have they done so very badly. It is these English "boys of nineteen" who, in commerce, in the mercantile marine, the army, and the navy, and the colonial and Indian civil services, for the most part keep together the proud Empire, which has been founded in their devotion and their blood.

Ever sincerely yours,

GEORGE BIRDWOOD.



JOURNAL  
OF THE  
EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION,  
Instituted for the independent and disinterested advocacy and  
promotion, by all legitimate means, of the public interests  
and welfare of the Inhabitants of India generally.

—:o○:o:○o:—

“THE INDIAN CIVIL SERVICE.”

PAPER BY

NUSSERWANJEE S. GINWALLA, Esq., OF BROACH,  
READ BY SIR ROPER LETHBRIDGE, C.I.E.,  
AT A MEETING OF THE EAST INDIAN ASSOCIATION,  
*On WEDNESDAY, DECEMBER 17th 1884.*  
GENERAL SIR ORFEUR CAVENAGH, K.C.S.I., CHAIRMAN OF  
THE COUNCIL OF THE ASSOCIATION, IN THE CHAIR.

---

A MEETING of the members and friends of the East India Association was held on Wednesday afternoon, December 17th, 1884, in the Exeter Hall Council Chamber, for the purpose of considering a paper by Nusserwanjee Sheriarjee Ginwalla, Esq., of Broach, on the “Indian Civil Service,” read by Sir Roper Lethbridge, C.I.E.

General Sir ORFEUR CAVENAGH, K.C.S.I., occupied the chair and amongst those present were the following:—Mr. Thomas H. Thornton, C.S.I.; Major-General R. M. Macdonald; Colonel Stanley Clarke; Surgeon-General Balfour; Mr. C. W. Arathoon; Mr. L. G. Bhashade; Dr. G. B. Clark; Mrs. Clark; Mr. W. J. Cooper; Mr. W. Cornell; Mr. M. B. Dadabhoy; Mr. Robert Giles; Mr. Erland von Hofsten; Sardar Kirshna Singh Kapur; Mr. Mackintosh; Mrs. Mackintosh; Mr. D. W. Marsden; Mr. J. E. Modi; Mr. M. Mull; Pandit Bishen. Narayan dár: Mr. L.

Piyare Lall ; Dr. Robert Pringle ; Mr. Donald No. Reid ; Mr. John Shaw (Madras) ; Mr. Mohsin B. Tyabjee ; Mr. B. A. Wadia ; Mr. Oswin Weynton ; Mr. W. Martin Wood ; Dr. Yussuf Ali Khan and Mr. W. Hamilton Burn (Secretary).

In opening the proceedings, the CHAIRMAN said : Ladies and gentlemen,—The paper which is about to be submitted for your consideration deserves your serious attention, because it not only contains the straightforward expression of the ideas of an intelligent and independent native gentleman upon a subject which is exciting much discussion amongst his own countrymen, but also relates to a very important question—that is, the selection of the men upon whose energy, integrity and ability, the future prosperity of our Indian Empire and the consequent welfare and happiness of its inhabitants must mainly depend. For, as a skilful artisan cannot be expected to turn out good work without being furnished with the requisite tools, so the able administrators who from time to time may be deputed to govern our great dependency, will be unable to conduct their high duties either to their own satisfaction or to the advancement of the interests of the people over whose destinies they are called upon to preside, unless they are supplied with proper instruments in the shape of earnest, zealous, upright and talented public officers to carry out their orders, and supervise in its minute details the working of the great machinery of government, which a little undue friction may easily fling out of gear. Although you may not agree with Mr. Ginwalla in everything he has stated in his paper, yet I am sure that you will acknowledge that he has enunciated his views with great clearness and supported them with apparently cogent and certainly disinterested arguments. As regards his proposal for the abolition of what is styled the Statutory Civil Service, and in its stead allowing members of the Uncovenanted Service, after approved service, to be deemed eligible for promotion to higher posts, I can only say that it has always struck me as manifestly unjust to a large body of very deserving public



servants, many of whom have served the State faithfully and well for a long series of years, that they should be liable, as it were, to be superseded by youths—perhaps fresh from the Universities whose only claim for Government employment may be their aptitude for gaining the goodwill of some high official. Even when protected by the greatest honesty of purpose, without any guiding rule, advancement of any kind by mere selection is too often apt to degenerate into advancement by favouritism. At present all grades of the public service in England are thrown open to public competition, and there seems no reason why the rule should not be extended to India. I am afraid it would hardly be possible to require every Government *employé* before entering upon his duties to make, as Mr. Ginwalla suggests, a short sojourn in England, though, were the arrangement practicable, there can be little doubt that it would tend to the advantage both of the individual and of the State. With these few words, I will now ask Sir Lethbridge to read Mr. Ginwalla's paper.

Sir ROPER LETHBRIDGE, C.I.E., said : Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—Before reading the paper which Mr. Ginwalla has entrusted to my care, I venture to ask your permission at this stage to say one word as to my own connection with it. It has given me great pleasure to comply with Mr. Ginwalla's request that I should read the paper, for I think it is a very valuable one, and well worthy of consideration and discussion in this Association. I wish to disclaim responsibility for the opinions expressed in it ; but it would, perhaps, emphasize Mr. Ginwalla's modesty and good taste, if I say that the points where I differ from him are exactly those points where he takes a view of his own countrymen's capacity and character, that is, in my opinion, not sufficiently appreciative. I have for years, and throughout all this controversy about the limits of age for the Indian Civil Service, advocated a return to the old maximum limit of age of twenty-three. For the sake of the service itself, and for its English candidates, I think this reform, which is undoubtedly a

popular one amongst our Indian fellow-subjects, is advisable : and I do think it will at some time or other be brought about. With these few remarks I will now proceed to read Mr. Ginwalla's paper.

At a time when meetings are being held in many of the chief cities of India, and a number of petitions and memorials are being prepared and adopted for presentation to the Secretary of State for India to extend the present limit of age for the admission of natives to the Covenanted Civil Service, and when most touching appeals are being made to the Government of this country and of England to lay the doors of that Service open to the natives of India, and to place them on a footing of equality with the English civilians by letting them into all the higher appointments, I think it worth while suggesting a middle course, which will, I hope, be satisfactory to both the contending parties, and the adoption of which might, in my humble opinion, tend to soothe the ruffled spirit that pervades the country.

It is now more than ever necessary that any scheme or project which may have for its object the amelioration of the condition of the natives of India should not be lightly thrown aside, but should rather receive the closest attention that can be bestowed upon it. The question concerns not only the individual well-being of the natives of India, but also the interest of the Empire itself. For that Empire during a long, long time to come, must continue to be a large employer of native energy and native intelligence, and the more easy and comfortable the condition of life which it may be able to offer to its *employés* the more likely is it to be served both cheaply and faithfully.

It is satisfactory to observe that by means of a liberal English education, chiefly at the expense of the State, the people of India have been made tolerably familiar with the aims and objects of the Government of England in India, which may be summed up in a word—India for the Indians. I must admit that, though



this principle has not been practically enforced in its broadest sense, there has been a great deal done of late years towards the promotion of the wishes and interests of the people of India, which clearly shows that the principal object of the British rule in India is being slowly but surely carried out. One glorious instance of this noble policy would be sufficient—I mean the liberty of the press and the liberty of public speech. This privilege permits our educated men to speak and write with freedom about State policy and other matters to an extent which is almost unheard-of in any other country of Europe or Asia. When these valuable privileges are denied to all other nations, is it not a matter for the natives to be deeply grateful for to their gracious and generous rulers?

I now come to the subject in hand. My proposal is to shut out the natives of India altogether—so far as their examination and admission in England is concerned—from the Covenanted Civil Service, to which they are at present admitted, firstly, under a competitive examination held in England, and secondly, under an English Act of Parliament which has empowered certain high officers of State to select a certain number of natives every year for admission into the Service. I quite approve of all the momentous political reasons that are urged by those who oppose the wholesale and indiscriminate admission of natives to the Service on a footing of equality as to rank, grade, status, emoluments, &c., with their British compeers.

Proclamations and State pledges are to be taken for what they are worth—more especially when these have been made at a time when the country was in a state of political ferment, or passing through a vast political transition such as that when the vast territories of British India, until then ruled by a despotic body of merchants, commonly known as the John Company Bahadour, passed under the direct rule of the Crown. These pledges, I say, can never have been meant at the time to be carried out in letter and spirit according to the wish and desire of those for

whose benefit they were intended, They were a set of voluntary assurances on the part of the British Government to promote the interests of the people of India as far as it lay in their power, and to govern all their subjects with justice and impartiality as far as the circumstances of each particular case would permit. Every man, every British Indian subject, must know that he is at the mercy of his rulers, that in India we have no constitutional Government like that of England—that here we have a kind of mild despotism or Imperialism, and that he should be thankful to his rulers for the smallest mercies that they are kind enough to offer him—and that he is not entitled as of right—though he may be every way qualified for it—to all the high and responsible appointments in the administration of the country. It ill becomes us, therefore, to make such proclamations and pledges a peg to hang all our grievances and arguments upon, and to ask for admission into the Service on a footing of equality with the rulers of the country as a pure matter of right, and not a friendly concession.

It cannot but be obvious to the meanest understanding that for certain grave political reasons all the high offices of State should, as a matter of course, be reserved for the members of the ruling race. I am quite convinced that on political and prudential grounds not only should the higher administrative appointments be reserved for the Englishmen, but that English agency is almost indispensable for the peace, well-being, and efficient administration of the country. Not that I doubt for one moment the qualification by ability, education, and integrity of the natives, to hold and discharge to the entire satisfaction of their rulers the duties of these high offices of State, but I fear that the natives of this country seldom possess the self-reliance, firmness of character, and tact so necessary in cases of emergency. I am firmly of opinion on the other hand that both on political and financial grounds native subordinate agency should have wider and more extended play in the work of governing their country. But I



think the Government are only sowing the seeds of future embarrassments and race-antagonism in not boldly announcing the fact that European and native agency must necessarily be regarded as distinct and separate. The Government should not be indifferent of the just claims of the natives for admission into the Service so long as native agency occupies a subordinate rank in the work of administration. The question is, How far can the Government accede to the request of the natives to be admitted into the Service—even the subordinate branches—without endangering the peace and safety of the Empire, and the welfare and good government of the masses ?

If the Government were to give some tangible proof of the reality of their intention to carry out the policy of freely admitting the natives to the subordinate Civil Service, and lay down rules whereby a certain number of lower-grade appointments should be reserved for and given away to natives proportionately to the admission of Edglish civilians to the higher appointments every year, a great deal of the present race-jealously, excitement, and heart-burning, would vanish, and the Government will be spared the bitter cry which is raised now and then that the “firmans of the Kaisar-i-Hind are like the firmans of the Sultan of Turkey in days gone by.”

When England took India, hundreds of thousands of men were struggling for her possession. The Moguls wanted to possess her, the Mahrathas fought and plundered their way close up to that result, and Pindarees, Rajputs, Mysorians, were all struggling in a devil's dance of anarchy and plunder to obtain the prize. England, however, stepped in and saved India from them all. For nearly a century she has advanced in the pathway of civilization. Like the young ladies of the day, an attempt has been made to make her accomplished by means of every modern improvement. The policy of England in India is essentially one of internal development and domestic progress. India has been

the envy of all European nations : one of them at least is supposed to be casting amorous glances at her. If England took her hand away from her to-day, she would to-morrow be lying dishevelled and distracted on the ground with crowds of men fighting like demons for the possession of her crown. It is, however, satisfactory to learn that with a marvellous unanimity the people of India have silently but eloquently signified their assent to the new mode of governing introduced by England. It cannot be too strongly impressed on every native chief in India that had it not been for the perfect security conferred by British protection, the native dynasties would have been not unfrequently displaced in consequence of mutual wars or popular disturbances. Since the advent of the English nation here as our rulers peace and prosperity have been ensured, and law and justice administered equally to rich and poor. Every loyal native of India will do well to remember that in conquering India, Englishmen have freed the toiling millions of this country from the bonds of slavery and oppression of foreign tyrants, and that the misery attendant on lawlessness and general chaos has become a thing of the past under their rule and sway. We admit that the people of India must be educated to take an interest in the affairs of India, if this country is to be governed in such a way as to make it a contented and useful portion of the Empire. The British mission of civilizing and developing the natural resources of the country is as arduous as it is noble ; it is full of difficulties on account of the great distance between the Indian Empire and Great Britain, where the head Government is located, the variety of languages spoken by the variety of races that inhabit the country, the reserved and unsociable nature of John Bull in India, the spirit of Imperialism that pervades generally all classes of the Government officials, and many other reasons which increase the difficulties of governing the people with ease and freedom. It is much to be regretted that the benign English rule is sometimes, through ignorance, talked lightly of in consequence of a little high-handedness of growing Imperialism, and some acts of indiscretion on the part of some members of the Civil Service that



tend to widen the breach between the rulers and the ruled. Caste prejudices, absence of social meetings and gatherings, and the want of common courtesy towards the natives by some Englishmen are day by day becoming so prominent that an impartial observer inclines to the belief that there is something in the very atmosphere of the country which inclines even English gentlemen to approach in practice to what has been aptly termed "Oriental despotism."

Now, What I propose in the first place is to abolish and do away altogether with the Statutory Civil Service as it obtains at present. I am strongly opposed to the present system of admission to the Service by selection and patronage of one or more men in high office rather than by the door of open competition. Why should the sugar-plums of the Service go to the toadies and tadpoles of Jacks in office instead of to men of sterling merit and intellect who have proved themselves deserving of the good things of this life? I am for a fair field and no favour. The only thing I wish, to see is an end of this unseemly and everlasting quarrel between the natives and Englishmen for high or low appointments in the Administration, and some permanent arrangement on a fair and impartial basis which would remove the cause of all future complaints on both sides. This patronage system has opened a door to all sorts of jobbery and favouritism, and the result of it is a plentiful crop of abuses. This system has been a great boon to those who have the ears of high-class Government officials, or who are the interesting *protégés* of a Governor, Councillor or Commissioner. Those persons who have got into the Covenanted Civil Service by virtue of this system of admission are, on the whole, a very unpromising lot. This indiscriminate admission by patronage, favour, or influence in high quarters, is most disastrous to the Service itself, and we are, therefore, of necessity thrown back upon the good old system of admission by competition though in a somewhat modified form. I have had some personal experience of many of these thrice-happy mortals who have been able to

secure comfortable berths in the Service by patronage, but of whom all I can say is that they are out of place, and perhaps not quite fit for the posts they hold, and their proper places would have been at some school or college. These men have proved, as a rule (though I know of exceptions), inferior to their countrymen who have entered the Service through the door of competition in England. One can find many a statutory civilian who is either from ignorance or conceit totally incapable of deciding between the length of two straws, and nevertheless these are the very men selected to govern the subject masses of a large province or district of the Empire. It was almost a foregone conclusion that the system, based on this short-sighted policy, would sooner or later collapse on account of its innate weakness or foolishness, and that it would be a source of dissatisfaction and trouble to the large and daily increasing class of our University men. I say give everybody his due, and let the test be a competitive examination all round both for natives and Englishmen. By these means we shall be able to have at our command any amount of good, sound, workable material for filling up the high and responsible offices of the Service. Let merit, intellect, learning, and high education alone carry all before them in the service of the country. The Statutory Service as it is—a singular Indian stew of incongruous materials—has already been nick-named “The Curry and “Rice Service,” and if this system of patronage were allowed to continue for many years longer, it might earn for itself a most unenviable notoriety. Of course, if the Government of India like to go into the highways and byways for men they can get them. They can bid the lame, the halt, the blind, to their supper—but then what a company! and when we remember that the weal and woe of this large Empire (which has of necessity to be administered by a more handful of men) hangs upon the high tone and the *esprit de corps* of what was one of the best administrative services the world has ever seen, it is impossible not to feel anxious for the future of India. When men of poor intellect or utter incapacity for the noble and highly responsible work of



administration enter the Service, the finger of scorn is naturally pointed at them by all Englishmen and natives alike, and they become in the end the laughing-stock of their own body and of the world at large. Let the system of nomination by patronage be knocked on the head, and let the entire body of the Service be thoroughly over-hauled. Nothing of real importance can be done unless this system is condemned as radically wrong and unsuitable, and a new and better one adopted, conceived on broad lines of State policy and the actual circumstances or political exigencies of the country.

I therefore propose that a separate and independent branch of the Covenanted Civil Service be organised and established in India solely for the natives, and that all the lower-grade appointments be reserved for them to the exclusion of Englishmen and Eurasians. That the branch service shall be subordinate to the main service, and that no natives be allowed to compete with Englishmen at the Civil Service examination to be held in England.

Sir ROPER LETHBRIDGE: You must understand, ladies and gentlemen, that I am not responsible for these opinions. There is an opinion just mentioned there which I do not agree with at all, but it will be understood that I am not responsible for it, nor for several that follow.

That an examination be held in India for the natives simultaneously with the English one, or at different times, and that the examiners be appointed and sent out from England. That at such local examinations held annually for the natives in the Presidency towns of India, only those candidates shall be admitted who hold the degree of M.A. and LL.B. from one of the Indian Universities, irrespective of their being already in the public service or not. The successful competitors at this examination should then be appointed to the service under the same rules and conditions as are now in force in regard to the statutory civilians.

and the limit of age shall be extended to twenty-seven years. In the case of M.A.'s and LL.B.'s already in the Service this privilege may be safely extended irrespective of the limit of age, as their official experience appears to be a good ground for extending such indulgence to them, over and above the fact of their degree being a sufficient warrant for their admission to the examinations. It is the soundest policy to encourage University men by giving M.A.'s and LL.B.'s opportunities for appearance at this examination. Besides the invaluable culture and training of the University, the special knowledge acquired by actual work in the Service, the fresh studies which they may prosecute in order to qualify for passing the examinations will be a particularly valuable means for raising the standard of qualified candidates. Indeed, in whatever light I look at this proposal, I only find satisfactory reasons to favour the idea of admitting the higher grades of University graduates to the test of this examination. The number of appointments to be thus competed for should be one-third of the number of appointments to the Civil Service. At the same time Government should not only give a solemn assurance of their intention to carry out this policy, but should actually appoint a few of the picked and tried men of the subordinate native Service (after serving in the line for seven or eight years) to a limited number of the best paid and superior offices. It is a weak and unwise policy to promise like a prince and pay like a miser : to admit the natives to the Service on a footing of equality, leaving open to them all the appointments, high and low, and when responsible and high offices fall vacant to evade their promotion thereto by sophistry and specious arguments, and to shuffle out of an unpleasant obligation. This subordinate native Civil Service project should, I think, be as thorough, just and generous, in its organization, as it can possibly be made, so as to leave no cause for the natives to be dissatisfied with it. The promptitude with which this new scheme may be organized and adopted will render it all the more welcome to those in whose favour it is intended to operate. All the rules and regulations a



to pay, pension, emoluments, &c., now applicable to the statutory civilians may be applied to the subordinate Civil Service as well. I also suggest that the successful candidates, immediately after passing their examination in India, be required, without exception, to make a short sojourn in England, say for two years, in order to finish their education, to learn men and manners, and to see a bit of the wide, wide world, beyond their own homes and country. By travel and residence in foreign countries, particularly in England—one of the prominent centres of the civilized world—a native of India necessarily learns much that is of practical use to him in the affairs of everyday business life, and he has an opportunity to unlearn a great deal of his old Indian habits, manners, associations, and ideas, by observation and actual intercourse with the highly polished, educated, and civilized society of Europe. Most of these habits and ideas, have grown with his growth, and strengthened with his strength, and may be rather hard to shake off; but everything rude, coarse, unrefined and uncouth in his nature, will be toned down and softened by having an insight into real English life and character, and by a good breath of the bracing, healthy, free air of England. This will help to make him a decent, presentable, civilized being, fit to associate with and move in the highly-cultured and polished circles of England or India. He will not then feel like a fish out of water in the society of English men or women, and will boldly and freely mix with them on terms of friendliness and good fellowship, and will at least be able to command their respect and sympathy, if not affection and intimacy. This will make the Service a compact and united body, and its members will be a pillar of strength to the Empire of India. It is ingrained in human nature to return like for like, to return the coldness, reserve, and silent contempt of the Englishman with like treatment. It is the law of nature to retaliate, and this is the source of all evils and complaints between the native and English members of the Service. I say that the brains of the natives are

not alone to be cultivated and refined, but let their hearts be also as cultivated and refined. They want much of candour, sincerity, liberality of principle, large-heartedness, delicacy of feeling, gentleness, sympathy for the weak, the wronged, the oppressed, and honour for their own women, and respect for the weaker sex. They are wanting in many such noble qualities of heart which are generally to be found in an average Englishman. During this compulsory sojourn in England, Government ought to adopt efficient measures for the young native civilians to be made acquainted, as far as circumstances would permit, with everything that would help them in being polished gentlemen and men of world, and also in increasing their necessarily limited stock of observation and experience and common information on all subjects of importance. Let the natives know and actually feel that their services are valued and courted by the Government, and they will serve their rulers with greater loyalty, efficiency, zeal, and honesty, just in the same way as the mother loves her child, and the child returns her affection with double the interest.

There cannot be a doubt about the necessity of extending the limit of age for the native. An Indian youth has not all the advantages from his childhood in point of training and education that an English boy has. To begin with, a native must have a thorough knowledge of English before he can get through his Civil Service Examination. Now, this in itself is a work of at least ten years. Greek and Latin are taught as a matter of course to all the English boys at all the public schools of England, and thus there is a solid foundation laid for the boy's future education, - whereas it would be a herculean task for the native boy to master these difficult languages at such a tender age. The physical strength and muscularity, the vigorous school and home discipline, the smooth, easy life (without cares, troubles, anxieties, and privations) of most of the stout, healthy English lads, all facilitate the course of studies and their mental development and enlightenment. Few such advantages has the poor native lad, born, per-



haps, of humble parents, who toil their lives away, and whose son has to fight hard from his boyhood against all sorts of difficulties and drawbacks, which cripple and enervate his intellect and abilities, of however high order they may be, and knock half his life, vigour, and energy out of him. It is owing to such causes that some English writers charge the native educated youth with effeminacy, conceit, weak-mindedness, want of firmness and decision of character, and a thousand other things.

Now, last, but not least, is the point I have suggested of holding examinations in India. Government is deprived of the services of many bright and talented Indian youths, who are "wasting their sweetness on the desert air" simply because they have no means to study in England for a number of years, depending on the bare chance or possibility of being able to pass the Civil Service Examination. There are hundreds of other difficulties in their way which an Englishman could never dream of, much less understand, one of which is the inborn aversion of ages to leave their home and country and go beyond the seas. This is so in the case of Hindus only, but still that is one of the most numerous races of the two or three principal nationalities of India. Looking to all the circumstances of the people of the country, their modes of thought, their traditions, and their mode of life, this privilege of local examination should, I think, in fairness be granted to them.

A word more, and I have done. No end of modifications of the existing rules and principles of the Service have been suggested by public writers and speakers of the day (particularly the editor of the very ably written paper, *The Indian Spectator*), both in India and England, and the outcome of this huge discussion has been the *glorious Statutory Civil Service*. I now earnestly hope that some practical shape may be given to some of the many reasonable suggestions that are being made on all sides in India, so as to set at rest once for all this burning question of

the day between the natives and English for their real or supposed rights, and that this furious controversy between the ruling and subject races may be put a stop to at once in some way which will meet the dearest wishes and aspiration of them all in as full and complete a manner as may be practicable. We have now waited and waited too long and patiently to see the end of this wordy warfare on this unpleasant and exciting subject, but no good prophet has yet risen to soothe the troubled waters of the ocean of this bitter discussion, and the situation at present looks uncommonly like that described by the satirist :—

Lord Chatham with his rapier drawn,  
 Stood waiting for Sir Richard Strachan,  
 Sir Richard longing to be at'em,  
 Stood waiting for the Earl of Chatham.

The sooner they all leave off their damnable faces, as Hamlet says, and introduce a practical subordinate Civil Service into the country, the better the public will like it. It is a pity that suggestions and hints coming from able and well-informed persons on such matters, whose independent opinion ought to be respected, are often put down as the "chatter of irresponsible frivolity."

Before I conclude this, I must frankly say that the benign British Government has given peace and prosperity to the teeming millions, and if to confer shelter and spread peace and ease over the country of India, to give permanence to such a happy millennium, and to have sympathy with, and work out the welfare of the people, be noble aims, then the comfort and blessings which we enjoy under the English Raj proves beyond a doubt that they have succeeded in those aims. We have not words sufficient to express our love and gratitude for the heartfelt contentment we enjoy under our kind and paternal Government. Happy, most happy are the nations on whom the sun of the justice and rule of the British Government shines.



It is the earnest and sincere prayer of every loyal native of India, that the Almighty God may ever make the sun of British prosperity shine over us, its loyal subjects.

The CHAIRMAN; I will now ask any gentleman who wishes to speak on the subject to send me up his card, because I am sure we shall be very happy to hear a discussion on the paper.

Mr. MANECKJEE BYRAMJEE DADABHOY: Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—I have heard the paper written by Mr. Ginwalla, and read by Sir Roper Lethbridge to this Association. This subject has been very warmly discussed both in England and in India, and the support given by the advocates of the reforms in the Indian Civil Service both in India and in England is extremely pathetic. So much so, that in India in almost all the principal towns the formation of meetings of influential residents thereof for the purpose of framing a petition or a memorial for presentation to the Secretary of State, has been of frequent occurrence; to enforce or demand what we call our indigenous rights. This paper, in which Mr. Ginwalla has suggested a middle course, is, I hope, if not wholly, partially approved and supported by the generality of both Englishmen and the people of India. For my part I agree with many of the suggestions save a few which I will just enumerate. I quite agree with all Mr. Ginwalla has said about the proclamations and the granting of the liberty of the press—a liberty which permits the people to speak with perfect freedom upon State policy and other burning topics of the day. I have no doubt my countrymen will admit that the bestowal of high administrative offices to Englishmen is essential to the peace, stability and able administration of India, and to preclude such able and highminded Englishmen from such offices would have the effect of bringing to the doors of India a cloud of political embarrassment and the restoration of those race-distinctions which were, not very long ago, rife, but which are now almost wholly extinct, on account of

British benign mediation, and of trust in the British Government. As regards the Statutory Civil Service I beg to differ from Mr. Ginwalla. By abolishing the Statutory Civil Service you deprive Indian nobility, and our faithful Indian officers, of a very munificent privilege. The argument urged by Mr. Ginwalla, in support of his view, is either weak or defective. Mr. Ginwalla has asserted that the great majority of young men favoured with these posts are out of place, and not quite fit for them—like boys placed in a Sunday-school. I am afraid Mr. Ginwalla is misinformed or is labouring under a misapprehension. To my knowledge, since the creation of this Statutory Civil Service, the Majority of young men who have got posts of this sort are University men—men of sound abilities and solid acquirements—(Hear, hear)—and some of them have had the advantages of an English University education and training, and I do not conceive in what way the present statutory system will soon grow and become a source of dissatisfaction and trouble to all the bodies of Universities, for it will do well to remind you that the object of the creation of this statutory system was more for the children of the faithful, devoted, and self-sacrificing officers of the Government, than for a yearly increasing number of University men. No man of common sense will say that the Government is bound to provide with suitable appointments according to rank and position for an annual increasing influx of University men. The unflinching efforts made by the State for the prevalence of education in many parts of India are for the intrinsic amelioration and social reform of that vast Empire, and, therefore, I believe my countrymen have no right whatsoever to demand some of the privileges which are withheld from them on an unsubstantial pretext of University education. Now, for a moment I will refer to a passage in which Mr. Ginwalla says that the Indians are wanting in candour and liberality of principle, sympathy for the weak, and respect for their women. As regards their respect for women, I will not say a word, because I myself abhor and detest



the personal treatment given to women in some castes and their ungenerous exclusion from the society of men and public amusements, but I hope we will have the satisfaction to find in process of time, with the splendid efforts of education and culture, the entire eradication of those time-honoured prejudices. (Hear, hear.) But as regards liberality of principle which has been mentioned, I may unmistakably say that these defects you will find rampant even in the most civilized nations of the world. I will no longer deal with the subject, but will conclude with one more sentence. At one place Mr. Ginwalla has mentioned that the right of local examination should in fairness be granted to Indians, citing in support of his view the argument that the Hindus are the most numerous race of two or three principal nationalities in India, and being unable to cross the seas from religious prejudices, and even disliking the very idea of being separated from their homes. On the other hand, while speaking about the establishment and organization of the Civil Service in India solely for the benefit of natives, he resolutely wants that, without exception, the Indian youths be required to make a short sojourn in England to finish their education and to learn the ways and manners of our great western capital. These two suggestions are so self-contradicting to each other, that to obey one we must of necessity discard the other. (Cheers.)

Sir W. CORNELL (Bengal Civil Service, Retired): Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen—You will perhaps consider it will not be out of place if I make a few remarks on this occasion, when I tell you that not only have I passed through the Civil Service myself, but that I am the senior survivor of the first competitive examination in 1855, and I have therefore some experience both in these examinations and some knowledge of the objects in view. Some things in this paper have taken me very much by surprise, but it is well-written and moderate on the whole. The suggestions may be divided into two parts: those suggestions which are for pulling down, and

those suggestions which are for building up, Mr. Ginwalla proposes entirely to abolish the Statutory Service, and speaks of it in no very flattering terms. He also proposes to abolish the power of Government to nominate Englishmen and Eurasians to any appointments, and would substitute for the Statutory Service those selected by the proposed competitive examinations. Now I cannot but think that he is wrong here—not only is the Statutory Service intended to enlist the scions of the native aristocracy, but also (as the gentleman who last spoke said), there is a just claim to be considered of the children of these Indian officials who have done good service. I submit it is expedient that the Government should retain in its hands at least a small margin of appointments to be filled up *apart from examinations*. There are many Englishmen born in India, and there is a very large population of Eurasians—both classes have rendered good service in what is called the uncovenanted branch, and the bulk of them could not hope for success, nor would native gentlemen of high family think of allowing their sons to enter into the lists for the proposed examinations. I think it would be fair that a certain proportion—say one-twelfth—of the vacancies should be left in the hands of the Government, and be filled up at its discretion by either the Natives, English, or Eurasians. Then I will turn to the other side of the question on which Mr. Ginwalla proposes to have local examinations in India, for another proportion perhaps one-fourth. In that I am disposed to agree. I think it is very hard to expect natives of India, after spending many years in their studies in their own country, to come to this country at great expense and begin again and enter into competition with young men who have great advantages over them in most of the subjects at the examinations in this country. Whether or not it would be desirable that the local examinations in India should be restricted to *graduates* of Indian Universities seems open to doubt. There is a very large Uncovenanted Service throughout India and if a few of these appointments were thrown open every year for those who seek promotion from the Uncovenanted Service it



would be a recognition of the merits of those who have worked hard in their day, and who in the midst of their occupation can not be expected to find time to prepare and compete with the M.A.'s and LL.B.'s, even although they be allowed to exceed the age of twenty-seven years. Whether it is good policy that University candidates should have preference to the exclusion of all other persons, I think, is extremely doubtful; and twenty-seven years is far too high a limit for preparation and final examination, which Mr. Ginwalla rightly considers desirable, especially if they had to come to Europe afterwards; but probably these details would be thought over and modified in the event of any scheme of this sort being seriously entertained. I will merely add that this principle for which I am contending—namely, that the Uncovenanted Service may fairly claim some share of the local promotion—is really being acted upon at this moment. There is in one district a judge in Bengal who was promoted from what is called the Uncovenanted Judicial Service, perhaps not at the same rate of pay that other judges are receiving, for this reason; that the district (Bancoorah) is very small, but he was selected for promotion as a distinguished man and a good judicial officer, and, so far as I recollect, there is not a High Court in India in which there is not one native judge at least. It would seem consequently, that this principle is being experimentally recognized by the Government. With these remarks I beg to resume my seat. (Cheers.)

Mr. W. MARTIN WOOD : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen,—Mr. Nusserwanjee Ginwalla and our members also, ought to be exceedingly obliged to Sir Lethbridge for reading the essay now put before us; but I venture to think that when the paper goes out to India that it will not be received with much favour by Mr. Ginwalla's countrymen. It is one which will excite very strong objections from one end of India to the other; but it is well that we should hear all opinions and judge all the phases of them. It would be an advantage if Sir Lethbridge or some

other member could narrate the course of affairs with regard to selection of Indian Civil Servants since the system of patronage ceased. It was about 1855 when the principle of open competition was instituted; and as you know, during the earlier years candidates were eligible up to the age of twenty-three. That limit has been reduced again and again; but the basis of a Competitive Service was maintained until the recent establishment of the Statutory Civil Service. There have been several important variations and changes in the tests and standards instituted by the examiners; but none of these have been so injurious as reducing the limit of the age to nineteen. Before this very undesirable change was made in 1877—indeed, so long since as 1869—there had been a proposal made by Sir Stafford Northcote, the Secretary of State for India, evidently with an honest intention of meeting the difficulty thus described in the paper—"The Government are 'deprived of the services of many tried and talented Indian youths who are 'wasting their sweetness on a desert air,' merely 'because they have no means of studying in England for a number of years, depending on the poor chance or possibility of 'being able to pass a Civil Service examination.'" Proposed, I believe, by Lord Lawrence, Sir Stafford Northcote framed the measure known as Victoria Scholarships, intended to enable Indian youths to come to England to compete for the Civil Service on the ordinary terms—the open competitive examination. But that generous plan was allowed to remain in abeyance, and I do not think that any one candidate came under those terms. Instead of giving a trial to that well-intentioned measure, and after much delay, the devices of the Statutory Civil Service were hit upon. Well we know a good deal of what has happened under that patronage system, but Mr. Ginwalla is perhaps a little too hard upon the men who have been appointed under it. I think we should be hard upon their patrons rather than on them. And now, all that Mr. Ginwalla proposes is that the Statutory Civil servants shall be subjected to examination in India; but that has already been



determined upon, by an order of the Governor of India acting in accord with the Secretary of State ; so that there will be at least some test examination for those men who may still be introduced under this unsatisfactory plan. That method perhaps will raise the average quality of the statutory civilians, but there still remains the taint of patronage and subserviency to the local authorities ; because any nomination system really comes back to this. (Hear, hear.) And looking at the political ground on which this paper proceeds, I think it is a most unfortunate position to take. I refer to passages on page 44, where the writer sets himself to disparage solemn declarations made by the Ministers of the Crown that are spoken of by the writer in this fashion—"Proclamations and State pledges are to be taken for what they are worth—more especially when these have been made at a time when the country was in a state of political ferment, or passing through a vast political transition such as that when the vast territories of British India, until then ruled by a despotic body of merchants, commonly known as the John Company Bahadoor, passed under the direct rule of the Crown. These pledges, I say, can never have been meant at the time to be carried out in letter and spirit according to the wish and desire of those for whose benefit they were intended." Now, I say, this only shows Mr. Ginwalla knows nothing about the topic he attempts to deal with. There could never have been pledges and promises made in a more formal manner—I mean formal in the true sense of the word, that is, having gone through every stage of parliamentary and other discussion, and adopted in the most public way possible. (Hear, hear.) Then take this passage—"It ill becomes us therefore to make such proclamations and pledges a peg to hang all our grievances and arguments upon." Certainly they are not pegs to hang grievances upon, but those declarations are the best possible grounds on which can be laid a claim for recognition of right to share in the services of the State which any subject might put forth. (Hear, hear.) Here I will just notice, if I may so, the subservient tone of Mr. Ginwalla's paper, where he says : "Every

"man, every British-Indian subject must know that he is at the  
 "mercy of his rulers, that in India we have no constitutional  
 "government like that of England—that here we have a kind of  
 "mild despotism or Imperialism." Well, I beg to differ from  
 him there. There is most certainly a constitutional government  
 in India. It may be a very interesting question for jurists to  
 trace where constitutionalism begins and where Imperialism ends.  
 We are so accustomed to have in Europe constitutions of which  
 electoral and parliamentary systems are the bases, that we forget  
 there may be constitutions of a different character, and certainly  
 the Government of India is carried on under constitutional forms.  
 There is legislative responsibility at every stage, and there is con-  
 tinuous record which can always be traced. True, these methods  
 are imperfectly applied, and there is too little publicity; but still  
 there is a constitution, although it is different from that of Eng-  
 land. Therefore I think the natives of India will themselves  
 repudiate the idea that they should be thankful to their rulers for  
 the smallest mercies that they might offer. Now, with regard to  
 Mr. Nusserwanjee's special proposal that a "separate and inde-  
 "pendent branch of the Covenanted Service be organized and  
 "established in India solely for the natives, and that all the lower  
 "grade appointments be reserved for them to the exclusion of  
 "Englishmen and Eurasians, that the branch service shall be  
 "subordinate to the main service, and that no natives be allowed  
 "to compete with Englishmen at the Civil Service examination  
 "to be held in England." What is that but to at once put a  
 mark of subserviency and badge of serfdom upon a whole class?  
 It is very well for these propositions to be made, but I think they  
 are merely personal notions that will find no general support.  
 It would be a deplorable thing if we were to go back, as most  
 certainly it is counselled by this paper as a whole: that proposal  
 would certainly be a retrograde step. (Hear, hear.) As I have  
 said before, the promises and pledges given that the people of  
 India shall be freely and fairly admitted to the service of the  
 State, of course qualified under proper regulations, is a



right duly accorded to every subject of Her Majesty and every citizen of her British Empire. We must as Englishmen, and with due regard to British reputation, accept responsibility for the maintenance of that right, and we should be extremely careful not to allow it to be tampered with. Mr. Ginwalla no doubt refers principally to the proclamation of Her Majesty on taking over the Government of the Crown in 1858. Here I mention that the text of that proclamation—which is not always easy to find—has just been published in the October number of *The Voice of India*, where the whole text of that really remarkable document may be read. The passage that specially relates to the topic of our discussion is this—"It is our further will that "so far as may be, our subjects of whatever race or creed be "freely and impartially admitted to offices in our service, the "duties for which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity, wholly to discharge." Now, I submit that Mr. Ginwalla's proposition not only falls far behind, but is opposed to that noble declaration. For my part, I think that we should fall back upon the principle of free and open competition, because that gives men of every race and every position a fair chance, and means that access to the highest administrative offices should be free and open to all. (Hear, hear.) And now one word with regard to the hardship that is so often referred to, of Indian youths having to come to England in order to compete here. I don't wonder that they complain of it, and you see that on every occasion the claim is made that the examinations should be conducted in India. But I do not think, taking a broad view of the subject, it would be expedient that this should be conceded. The effect on Indian candidates of their coming to England is in every way valuable, though we must admit that the conditions are severe. These Indian youths have to come all these thousands of miles to compete here; and yet if you compare the whole career with that of young Englishmen and others, who come from the temperate zones in other parts of the British Empire, they on

going out to an Indian career commit themselves to a life of exile, so that it becomes even in the long run. The native candidates who come from India have to make great sacrifices. They have to suffer privations, and have to strive very strenuously while here; but they go back to their own country, where they can enjoy their pensions, and spend the evening of their days amongst their own people. (Hear, hear.)

PANDIT BISHEN NARAYAN DAR said: Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen—I have heard with great delight the paper that has just now been read by Mr. Lethbridge for Mr. Ginwall. The one thing which struck me most, was the outspokenness of his remarks about the Indians. So far as his remarks relate to the Civil Service, I quite agree with him without any qualification at all. But excepting these suggestions, I believe there will be few educated Indians, who would like his outspoken remarks about the people of India. But still, true they are, though very unpalatable. It has been, unfortunately, a habit of my countrymen, in fighting about their political privileges, to throw much blame upon the Government, to suppose that the Government ought to do everything, and that they ought not to do anything for themselves. The writer of this paper has very well pointed out the faults and failings of his countrymen, and has very well hinted at the political pledges and promises—no matter in what emergency they were given—and their worth. During the late agitation about the Ilbert Bill, there has been many a question raised in the Civil Service discussions, and reference has always been made to the Queen's Proclamation of 1858, and whenever, judged from that standard in certain cases, the Government has failed to fulfil its promises, much blame has been thrown upon it. It has been thought that though the Indians have their failings, that the British Government is composed of angels and ought not to fail on any occasion whatever. Well, however, such is not the fact, and it will be very long indeed before everything can be done to the satisfaction of the India



people, and I think that from that day there will be some hope for the prosperity and welfare of India, when the people begin to blame themselves more than the Government. Now to offer a remark upon the Statutory Civil Service, which has been supported by a gentleman here, on the plea that the Government ought to have some appointments to give to the sons of rich men, and of those who have served the Government for a number of years. I do not know on what principle this argument rests. Is it just to keep this Statutory Civil Service, or does it in any way help the people of India in raising themselves? I think that besides keeping up that aristocratic spirit which still lingers in India, the Statutory Civil Service gives employment to those who do not really deserve it, because of their imperfect education. Mr. Ginwalla's remarks about the Civil Service examinations in India, and about the Indian graduates being given a better and fairer chance in these examinations, are very opportune, and will, I hope, be duly considered. With these remarks I beg to resume my seat.

Mr. PIYARE LAL : Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen, —Although a great deal has been said on this subject already, yet on hearing Mr. Ginwalla's very curious solution of a very difficult question, I feel disposed to speak something too. In the first place, to say the least, the line of the paper is too modest. I think the writer has nearly the same idea of Englishmen as the aboriginal tribes of America had of the Europeans when Columbus and his suite first landed on their shores. They then took them, from their white skins, to be supernatural beings, and so does the writer seem to regard the Englishmen in India. Gentlemen, though we may not possess certain qualities which Englishmen do in a marked degree, yet we are not without some for which we have been reputed from times immemorial, and which have been recognized by Englishmen as well. There are several inconsistencies, which I am sure must strike everybody, in the paper. Mr. Ginwalla says that, granted Indians possess all the requisite

qualifications for filling every and any appointment, yet to prevent the present agitation which is going on between him and the Anglo-Indians, a sharp line of demarcation must be drawn between their privileges. I entirely differ with him on this point. Mr. Ginwalla has put his suggestion in a dogmatic manner. Some time ago I read it stated somewhere that "the Englishmen cannot perform a nobler duty in India than to raise the people after their own level in respect." Now, if Mr. Ginwalla's remedy be adopted, I fail to see how this end can be attained. Any distinction between the privileges of the two classes would retard the progress of the Indians as a nation and for ever brand them with incapacity. It will moreover serve to widen the gulf which already exist between the natives of the country and the Anglo-Indians. It will take away from the Indians the only incentive to work and improve which they would otherwise have if no such distinction be observed. I perfectly agree with him as far as his opinion regarding the abolition of the Statutory Civil Service is concerned. The object of the Government is not to provide for a handful of wealthy aristocracy, but for the mass of the people. Apart from the question of patronage which is the only source of eligibility for this service at present, our aristocracy yet are not quite up to the requirements of so important offices. Every man in high office has invariably to rule the destinies of thousands, and the Government would be ill doing its duty if in raising men to high offices it did not insist on the possession of high moral and intellectual qualifications besides the social ones which are, at best but accidental. Competition is the best test for such qualifications.

Dr. ROBERT PRINGLE : Mr. Chairman, ladies, and gentlemen,—I have listened with great interest to the paper which has been read, as I feel it has a most important bearing on what may be termed the burning question of the day, as far as India is concerned—I mean that of local self-government ; and it appears to me as if the admission of natives into the Civil Service of India (which is virtually the governing power of India), was



in reality the first step towards the attainment of this object, and that under present circumstances, and the present condition of the vast majority of those who now could alone be supposed to be, from their social and intellectual position, capable of serving on these self-governing boards, to talk of local self-government by nine-tenths of the municipalities of the North-West Provinces is almost ludicrous. The positive antagonism of the two great religious divisions of India, viz, the Hindoo and the Mahomedan, without a superior governing power, in the chief European offices of the district, to an extent as almost to obliterate self-government would be fatal to any such attempt, and therefore, calling this self-government would be a misapplication of terms. But, admit the natives of India into the Civil Service, as is now the case, when they have fully qualified for the same, and you may then hope in time to have from among those who have qualified to compete, but failed in the competition, a body of intelligent educated natives, who, when they have acquired local and practical experience, will be infinitely more likely to be safely trusted with the responsible duties of local self-government than (speaking for ten millions of the population in the North-West Provinces, *i.e.*, the Agra and Murul Divisions), the class of people now elected to serve on the municipalities could ever be. I have often, when talking with educated and intelligent natives of India, asked them how it was that they have, so to speak, stood still during the past twenty centuries, for the greater portion of which time they have been calculating eclipses at Benares, while many of the Western nations, among them, who were barbarians when they were thus civilized, have caught them up, and are now, not only their rulers, but the great originators and inventors of all the wonderful appliances which cover the country. There were many among my hearers sufficiently educated to know the value of education among the masses, in a country like India, and they at once saw the reason of this apparent anomaly, and fully allowed that education is the real cause of this wonderful advance-

ment, and admitted that their standing still was due to this power being confined to the priests, who had no need of any stimulus to put it into force or practice, with a view of rising, either in a social or pecuniary position. I was in India in 1854, when the first education scheme was passed, and I can well remember the wonderful stimulus then given to education. I have lived to see this scheme very considerably modified, and not without just cause, when, for instance, a wealthy landholder told me the education, as supplied by the Government, unfitted his sons to help him with the estate, and tempted them to remain in the chief station and spend money. This education most certainly did not tempt the upper classes of natives to avail themselves of its benefits, but the great shopkeeper and merchant class, who doubtless saw in this education a means to an end, have taken it up, both extensively and successfully, and the open competition in the Civil Service in India will, as in the case of the Briton, now admit many into this most important branch of the service whose social position is as different from the upper classes of the natives, of whom I speak, as the general run of the civilian is now to those nominated by the Court of Directors years ago. This, therefore, is the great connection between the subject of the paper and the effects of the most extensive scheme of education which any Eastern nation has known, and which, without doubt, must ere long elevate from the masses of the people those who will take a leading part in the future government of India, for the Civil Service is the real ruling power in India. With the single exception of Lord Lawrence, no Viceroy could by any possibility do without the provincial help of his members of Council, and it is too often to be feared that the long acquaintance with, and employment in, the Secretariat, as it is called, of many of these members of Council has either unfitted them, or put them beyond the reach of acquiring that knowledge of the true wants of the population, which is absolutely necessary in one who is selected to legislate for a Province with a population equal to that of Great Britain.



No one can read the life of Lord Lawrence without being struck with the opportunities he had of acquiring a knowledge of the natives, from direct intercourse with them, and the great benefits he reaped from this knowledge ultimately. As regards the statutory civilians, as far as I have heard of and seen them, they appear to have been carefully and suitably elected, and they will, no doubt, in time be of great assistance to the Government, in gauging the opinions of the native population on measures of great public interest, from an independent and, it is to be hoped, unbiased point of view. The suggestion of the writer of the paper regarding the virtual division of the Civil Service into British and native, is, in my opinion, enough to discredit the whole aim of the paper; the line of demarcation is quite clear enough, and wide enough, between the Briton and the native, and this would only make it more distinct and wider. The action of all future legislation should be, if the true interests of the country are the objects arrived at and not the carrying out of a theory or crotchet, the obliteration of this line of demarcation, and the bringing together of those who ere long must be closely united, and thus interested in the Government of the country; and this can, I think, be best illustrated by the remark of a native gentleman of position and influence, to whom I spoke about the Ilbert Bill. He said, "We have no wish to take from you the privileges you have, and you can leave to us those we have; but we do want to know you better, and be on some terms of intimacy with you, and we really seemed to be getting nearer this happy result,—when this Bill puts us further apart than we have ever been since the mutiny." Let the present class of civilian cultivate a more friendly feeling with the upper class of the natives, and above all be careful the their native subordinates do not use their power to "snub" the old aristocracy of the country, reduced no doubt in position as regards wealth, but holding the very same position their ancestors did, as regards influence over their clansmen, which though in abeyance now,

would soon be lighted up should occasion require it. I have known instances of natives of rank and great influence being kept seated with the orderlies or "hopeful" in the verandahs, or to avoid this degradation, sitting in their carriages or palanquins often at a distance from the house, or even outside the gate. As regards educating the natives by a residence in Europe, up to the social position which would place them on an equality with an English nobleman, I feel this would be as difficult as it would to talk to a Briton completely unaccustomed to polite society, whose time at a school or university, instead of being spent, to a certain extent at least, with those who might elevate him socially, is entirely devoted to books, while any spare time is given to the society of those in his own rank in life. Time and social intercourse can alone effect the desired change, either in the case of the Briton or the native; but education, with the kindly sympathy of British gentlemen, will no doubt accelerate this happy result, and after thirty years' experience of the subject in India, where not only have I enjoyed their friendship, as a British gentleman, but have largely received and, I hope, to the best of my power reciprocated their confidence in me as medical officer, I can state without the least reserve, that when an Englishman goes among natives, no matter what their social position may be, he will invariably find that he will be treated as a gentleman would wish to be, if, in this intercourse with them, he knows their language, manners, and customs, and in short, is anxious to treat them as he would wish to be treated himself. We are all fellow-subjects of our Queen, and while each nationality adheres to its privileges or anomalies, if that term is supposed to be more applicable by those who are ignorant of India, and its manners and customs, it is quite possible to do this in a friendly spirit and manner, and there would thus be more hope and, I may add, chance of elevating them to the position the writer of the paper desires that they should hold, than would possibly be expected if the lines of demarcation he proposes were laid down, and the distance between the



ruling and ruled nationalities made greater. While our presence in India is necessary, this friendly feeling would confer benefits on our fellow-subjects, and would impart not a little good to ourselves. (Cheers.)

Mr. ROBERT GILES (Sind Commission): I wish to make one or two remarks upon this paper. It seems to me to be a very retrograde one altogether, and I am somewhat surprised that it has been brought before us. It seems to me that it is a paper scarcely worthy the attention of the meeting for three reasons. In the first place it speaks about the Queen's proclamation in the most improper manner. Everybody must agree that the promises which the Queen made in the proclamation were intended to be fulfilled. In the second place it speaks of the natives in a very improper manner; and in the third place it proposes that some permanent system should remain which will admit the natives to the inferior appointments only. Now the inconsistency of the natives being admitted to those appointments only, and at the same time a third of the higher civil appointments being opened to them, has already been pointed out; but I think what we should object to altogether is to any permanent rule being made. If necessary, temporary rules may be made instead of the present statutory arrangement (which is not a very satisfactory one), but no permanent rule, because, undoubtedly, the natives will be admitted to the higher appointments—all higher appointments—as soon as they are fit for them, and I believe that at the present time is being gradually done. I know a case in the Bombay Presidency where a native has been admitted to one of the district judgeships, and other instances have been given by another gentleman who spoke before me. For these three reasons—viz, that the paper speaks of the proclamation and of the natives themselves improperly, and proposes to make a permanent rule that only inferior appointments in India are to be open to the natives—I think the paper is unworthy the attention of the meeting, and that it should give effect to such an opinion by expressing their strong disapproval of it.

Mr. T. H. THORNTON, C.S.I., said he fully endorsed all that was said by the last speaker on the subject of the Queen's proclamation. It was not technically a contract, but it was a sacred code of principles to be ever kept in view in the administration of India. But there was nothing in the Queen's proclamation which made it incumbent upon the Government to introduce the competitive system of examination, for Government appointing *per saltum* through the length and breadth of India, or to prevent it prescribing different tests of fitness for different offices, or modifying the system of selection so as to suit the varying circumstances of different Provinces. - In the Punjab, for instance, the result of throwing open the native service to open competition in its ordinary sense would be that its ranks would be filled by young gentlemen from Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, who are intellectually far in advance of the Punjabees, but they would certainly not be the fittest men, and the proceeding would be very unfair and distasteful to the natives of the Punjab. Moreover, it was a matter of great political importance to endeavour to associate the scions of influential families—the hereditary tribal chiefs of the country, who still exercise considerable power for good or evil—in the business of administration ; but this would not be done—at present, at any rate—if all appointments were made under a system of open competition. He would remind those present that, even in England, the system of appointing to Government offices by competition was by no means universal. In the diplomatic service appointment by nomination was still in force, and in the Foreign Office and Admiralty the competition was not open. A good deal had been said against the “Statutory Civilian,” and the system under which he was appointed was described as a system of patronage, nepotism, jobbery, and other uncomplimentary designations ; but, whatever its merits or demerits (and of these there was no official information before us), it did not deserve the descriptions given above ; there was no improper favouritism in the matter ;



the candidates were not selected to serve party purposes or for any selfish object, but with an honest desire to appoint fit men, and the selection did not rest with one person, but the nomination—before it was finally confirmed—was subjected to the criticism of a number of different authorities. Still, he (Mr. Thornton) was not prepared to say that the system was altogether satisfactory, and was inclined to think that the rules required revision and that, perhaps, a kind of limited competition might be beneficially introduced.

Dr. G. B. CLARK : I should like just to say a word or two upon two of the points that have arisen in the course of the discussion. We have just had what was practically a defence of the Statutory Civil Service, and the gentleman who offered it has very strongly endorsed the Royal proclamation, and he looks upon it evidently as a great boon to the people of India. Now I wish to call your attention to the wording of that proclamation, and to point out to him that what he is asking or arguing for now is contrary to the letter and contrary to the spirit of the proclamation. The clause I wish to call your attention to is this : “It is our further will that so far as may be our subjects of “whatever race or creed be freely and impartially admitted to “offices in our services, the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, ability and integrity, wholly to discharge.” It is by their education, ability, and integrity, that they are appointed ; then why should you have any special family, or the member of any special family appointed upon any other grounds except upon the ground of ability, education, and integrity ? Then how are you to determine that ? In the Civil Service here they have adopted competition, and I think the same might be universally adopted in India. All the other services have been open to competition here save the Diplomatic Service.

Mr. T. H. THORNTON, C.S.I. : The Foreign Office is not.

Dr. G. B. CLARK : The Foreign Office is a branch of the Diplomatic Service.

The CHAIRMAN : I think the only other service is the Admiralty.

Dr. G. B. CLARK : That being the case, what we have to do is to have this proclamation carried out in its entirety, and to have a competition in England and a competition in India ; and if the result is that you are to have the North-west Provinces ruled by gentlemen from Bombay, Madras, or Calcutta, pray can you tell me the difference in having the same place ruled by gentlemen from London, Dublin, or Edinburgh ? I daresay the people in the North-west Provinces would just as soon have their rulers from the three cities of India as they would from the three of great Britain.

Mr. DELABENE W. MARSDEN : I know my province very well, and I know one thing : they would dislike either to be governed by natives of Madras, or Bombay, or Calcutta. (Cheers.)

Dr. G. B. CLARK : That may be your opinion, and it may be based upon facts, and there may be a strong local prejudices : but I do not see why they should not just as soon have the Bengalee as they would have the Scotsman or the Irishman. Then there was the other point raised as to this race-feeling and this antagonism between races. I thought one of the speakers who raised this question seemed to have pointed out that the fault lay on the part of the natives. Now it seems to me that the fault lies with the Europeans. All that was asked for was simply their just rights, and because they asked for those the Europeans made a great noise, and they have so developed this strong feeling. Surely natives are not to blame for merely asking for what they ought to have, and if in merely asking it they have trod upon the toes of another race, and that race has felt inclined to get angry and make a row, I do not see how you can blame them



more than you can the lamb which the wolf tore to pieces. It seems to me that, on inquiring into this matter, the only wise solution of it is to place our Indian fellow-subjects in the same position as that enjoyed by ourselves, and to give them an opportunity, by their ability, honesty, and integrity, to occupy any position in the Empire. We must ultimately come to that, if justice and argument are going to determine the question, because the only thing you can bring against it seems to be the local prejudice and the peculiar notions of a class.

Mr. D. W. MARSDEN (Bengal Civil Service, Retired) : Mr. Chairman and gentlemen,—It appears to me there is one point which in the discussion of the paper before us has not been touched upon, and I think it is that which supplies the answer to many objections which have been explained by native gentlemen. I allude to the question of the limit of age. It must be manifest that when nineteen is the limit at which any subject of the Queen may compete for the Civil Service, the prospect of getting Civil servants from India to come here for a competition must be very small indeed, because it must be confessed that a native of India would stand at a considerable disadvantage with regard to his knowledge of our language, ways and manners. This objection, of course, must in some degree exist whatever be the limit of age, but I think there are advantages on the other side to be considered. I venture to agree with the other speakers that it is essential that native students should come over to this country and study the English system of Government, and English manners and ways of thought. With regard to the Queen's proclamation, I do not think it is in any way antagonistic to the Statutory Civil Service. The Queen in her proclamation says she will admit in service all her subjects according to their ability and their integrity. What I want to point out is this, that there are other ways of finding out those qualities than by the examinations that are now held. Competitive examination is at best but a rough test of

ability, being solely an intellectual test. In the present state of education and enlightenment in India it is extremely probable school instruction will fail to bring into the service of the Government of that country the best natives who could be found in that country, and to say the least it is open to question whether the Statutory Civil Service would not introduce into Government employment men as suitable as those selected by competitive examination. I think, therefore, the Statutory Civil Service is neither contrary to the letter nor the spirit of the Queen's proclamation, and I think it would be the best plan, in order to satisfy the aspirations of native gentlemen, to raise the limit of age in the competitive examination for the Civil Service to the former age of twenty-three, or at least to that of twenty-one.

Mr. MATTHIAS MULL : I will not detain the meeting more than a few moments, but I should like to make a remark on one paragraph in this paper. A previous speaker stated, if you remember, that this paper as a whole would cause considerable feeling and resentment in India. I quite agree with that gentleman. Mr. Ginwalla says, "They (the natives of India) want much of candour, sincerity, liberality of principle, large-heartedness, delicacy of feeling, gentleness, sympathy for the weak, the wronged, the oppressed, and honour for their own women, and respect for the weaker sex." It has come upon me with great surprise to read that estimate from a native of India : it must come from a gentleman who knows nothing of any foreign races with whom to make comparison. He has been living at Broach all his life and knows nothing outside of it. I have some knowledge of the gentleman who has written this paper, and he has written it evidently with the utmost candour. But I have been living among the natives of India for thirty years, and I can boast of some of the natives of India as being my dearest friends, and I attribute it to the fact that I throughout endeavoured to put myself in sympathy with Oriental feeling, thought,



and customs. I perfectly agree with another gentleman who spoke, that it is the fault of the Europeans that they do not know the natives of India, that they do not "pluck out the heart of their mystery." They are easily to be known if you only try to know them, and their affections are easily to be won. Now, putting my own testimony aside, Mr. Ginwalla's is not the estimate of the races of India formed by Bishop Heber, by Meadows Taylor, Sir Charles Forbes, by the late Sir Bartle Frere, and other equally eminent men. I won't detain you by quoting from these, but it must be known to most of the gentlemen here what their testimony is; and certainly, if I were as candid as Mr. Ginwalla is, I should have to say, in speaking of my own race, that we have no doubt suffered individually from the want of the high-class virtues in our neighbours. (Hear, hear, and laughter.)

The CHAIRMAN : I will now ask Sir Lethbridge for his reply.

Sir ROPER LETHBRIDGE : I am sure that this assembly will feel some sympathy with Mr. Ginwalla on this point—that he has now to answer for his views not only by a mere proxy, but also by a proxy who, as I stated at first, does not personally agree with most of the opinions enunciated. That clearly puts him at a great disadvantage. Therefore, before I venture to make any general remarks, I will put forward first one or two points on which Mr. Ginwalla's paper has been treated, I think a little hardly in this discussion. For instance, one or two gentlemen have assumed that Mr. Ginwalla says, that natives of India are never to be allowed, under his proposed scheme, to rise to the highest posts. I do not think that, that is his meaning. Look at page 50; he says, "At the same time Government should not only give a solemn assurance of their intention to carry out this policy," that is to say, that they should give all these posts to natives and natives only, "but should actually) appoint a few of the picked and tried men of the subordinate, native service (after serving in the line for seven or eight years)

“to a limited number of the best paid and superior offices.” And then he goes on to say, “It is a weak and unwise policy to ‘promise like a prince and pay like a miser.’” There is a good deal of truth in that. Mr. Ginwalla says in effect, You, the British Government, have been making great profession to up the natives of India, but we would now prefer you should tell us what you really mean to give us, specifying a certain number of appointments, but don’t promise like a prince and pay like a miser. I believe that is Mr. Ginwalla’s idea—that the Government should state in a clear and *bona fide* manner what they do intend to do, and then that they should carry that out regidly and not as they have done hitherto, “promise like a prince and pay like a miser.” I think you will agree that Mr. Ginwalla has not been quite fairly treated on that point, Then there is another point, and that is with regard to the sanctity of the Queen’s proclamation. I must say I felt myself, when I was reading it, that passage rather jarred on my own feelings, but I imagined that Mr. Ginwalla was writing in a somewhat satirical spirit, or that he did not quite mean what he said. He rather meant to say, “I wish you would act up to these promises of the proclamation.” I do not think he meant that the proclamation could be set aside by the sweet will of any Viceroy ; at any rate I am quite sure there is not a single person in this assembly who would agree with him if he did think so. Then there was one point raised by a speaker on my right (Dr. Clark), with regard to the Queen’s proclamation as to the absolute right of every subject of Her Majesty, whether native or Englishman, to be appointed by reason of their education and so on to the highest appointment, and the speaker wished to infer from that, that every native of India ought to have a right to go into every competitive examination, and that if he succeeded therefore he should have a right to be appointed. In my opinion that does not follow from the Queen’s proclamation in the slightest degree. Does any intelligent man suppose that education consists of learning a certain



so on? That is not education, I shall venture to maintain, in the sense in which the word was used in the Queen's proclamation. Education means the general leading up of the powers of the mind ; and a man may be educated in that particular sense merely because he has been accustomed from youth upwards to command. In that sense in various parts of India there is education which fits men to command, which is enjoyed by the scions of many of the noble and gentle families of India ; and their appointment is, I think, within the four corners of the Queen's proclamation. Some appointments should be reserved for the sons of those who have had for many years, probably for many centuries, an influence over their fellow-countrymen in India. For that reason—here I cease to be the advocate of Mr. Ginwalla—I do not approve of Mr. Ginwalla's idea of abolishing the Statutory Civil Service altogether, or some form of it ; and I entirely agree with every word spoken by Mr. Thornton on that subject. I admit that the rules may possibly be altered with advantage ; but I do think that Mr. Ginwalla first of all rather depreciates the character of the gentlemen who have been appointed. I have not the honour of knowing any of them personally ; but I do know one who was recommended in Bengal, a cousin of the Maharajah of Nuddea, and a great friend of my own. I knew him for something like eleven or twelve years. I believe he would make an admirable Covenanted civilian. Well, he was one of the men who did not get the post ; he might have got it, but in the ultimate sifting he was left out. Again, to call that system one of corrupt patronage is absurd ; because the responsibility of appointing men to the Covenanted Civil Service in this way is far too great for any one but the most unscrupulous to appoint any but those who are really good men. I am quite sure that every lieutenant-governor, every chief commissioner appointed to such an office, would feel that he was exercising a privilege of the highest responsibility. His one thought would be to ascertain by every means in his power that he was appoint-

ing the very best person that he possibly could. Therefore I object to the abolition of the Statutory Civil Service. I do not think it is necessary even with regard to the wishes of our fellow-countrymen in India. I have always thought that twenty-three should be the ordinary limit of age for the Civil Service. I take that limit because I think it best suits the Service itself, and the interests of the English candidates also. The English candidates must be for many years the more numerous, and it is no disrespect to any native gentlemen present to say that we must first of all look to the English candidates, and looking at those candidates, I will tell you why the age of twenty-three is the best. Here, if you have men coming up for examination up to the age of twenty-three, you will find them to be men who have got to know their own minds. You will get a large number of University men whose minds have been formed here, who exactly know what they want, who know the closeness of competition in England, and men who will go out to India and will stick by you. But, on the other hand, I am firmly of opinion that if you cannot adopt the age of twenty-three it would be absolutely ruinous to the Service to adopt the age of twenty-one. At the age of twenty-one you will not get the young men of England coming up from our public schools; for if young men of that age are to have a chance of succeeding in the competition, they must fall into Mr. Wren's clutches. You will get neither public school men nor University men, and it will come to this, that the whole training of those who will have to carry on the future administration of India will invariably get into the hands of gentlemen like Mr. Wren. I am of course speaking of Mr. Wren, not personally, but as the type of the Crammer : for he is a gentleman for whom I have great respect, and indeed I have had the pleasure of having a son of my own under his care. You see, I do not speak disrespectfully of him or even of his system, because I adopt it : but I would sooner have the future administrators of India chosen from our Universities, first of all, or from our public schools, and to do that you



must gather them at a proper age. I say that the best age is twenty-three, and I think that, that is the age which will best suit our fellow-countrymen in India ; but don't let us go for such a limit as twenty-one, which would throw the preparation for the Civil Service of India, in England at any rate, entirely into the hands of the Crammers. (Cheers.)

The CHAIRMAN : I mentioned in my opening address, that although it was extremely improbable that we should entirely agree with Mr. Ginwalla, yet his paper deserved our serious attention, because it referred to a most important question, and would probably lead to a most interesting discussion—I think the justice of my remark has been fully borne out by what has taken place ; and although I repeat we cannot agree in many respects with what has been stated by Mr. Ginwalla, yet his paper has given us food for reflection, and that is always a matter to be thankful for. I would simply observe with regard to what has been said by some of the speakers, more particularly Dr. Clark, that I think some misconception arises with regard to Her Majesty's proclamation. I have always understood that proclamation as being to the effect that no person should be barred from obtaining any appointment, owing to his race or creed, but that it certainly did not prevent the Government from framing such regulations as they thought best to enable them to obtain the most competent men. If in laying down such rules they were to make exceptions it would be opposed to the spirit of the proclamation, but rules exist such as has been pointed out in this country, with respect to certain nominations it would be certainly in no way opposed either to the spirit or the wording of Her Majesty's proclamation. With these few remarks I will ask you to return Mr. Lethbridge, the sincere thanks of the meeting for the paper which he has read and also his interesting and valuable remarks upon it. (Cheers.)

A vote of thanks was then accorded to the Chairman on the motion of Major General Macdonald, and the proceedings terminated.

*(Reproduced from the Times of India 14th August 1886.)*

Mr. Ginwalla, the author of the "Parsee Girl of the Period," which made quite as much stir in India as Mrs. Lynn Linton's "Girl of the Period" made at home, sends us, after a long interval, another long contribution on the "Indian Civil Service. Here he is scarcely so well acquainted with his subject and is certainly not so amusing, but we welcome his contribution because it suggests that "middle course," the advocacy of which now seems most desirable. His letter will probably fall like a bomb-shell among his native brethren, for he boldly advocates the extreme measure of shutting out the natives of India altogethor from the Covenanted Civil Service, so far as admissions are made from examinations at Home. "I quite approve," he says, "of all the momentous political reasons that are urged by those who oppose the wholesale and indiscriminate admission of natives to the service, on a footing of equality as to rank, grade status, emoluments, &c., with their British compeers." Whether Mr. Ginwalla is writing in earnest or is mysteriously sarcastic does not much matter. He is right in the long run. The present system is a failure. This year no native name appeared in the list of successful candidates, and the average since the introduction of the privilege has only been half a candidate per annum. On the whole we are inclined to agree with him in thinking that "the Government are only sowing the seeds of future embarrassments and race-antagonism in not boldly announcing the fact that European and native agency must necessarily be regarded as distinct and separate." The present arrangement is a failure, and the small handful of natives who have found their way into the Civil Service through it, only shows that it has been thoroughly inoperative. The Statutory Civil Service, again, as it is manned at present, has been even less successful. A "middle course" is wanted, and the whole value of Mr. Ginwalla's long paper may be found in one paragraph:—"I, therefore, propose that a separate and independent branch of the Covenanted Civil Service be organised and



established in India solely for the natives, and that all the lower grade appointments be reserved for them to the exclusion of Englishmen. That the branch service shall be subordinate to the main service, and that no natives be allowed to compete with Englishmen at the Civil Service examination to be held in England."

We scarcely know what our native reformers will say to this. Many of them, however, see in the necessity for the reduction of expenditure a good chance for urging the larger employment of the natives of this country, and what is popularly known as the "two-thirds system" has been pretty generally accepted by the native press—that is, a native shall in future be paid only two-thirds of the salary hitherto drawn by a European filling the same post. The difference, however, in the cost of living between the members of the two communities is so great that in time no doubt a "one-third system" will be readily accepted, and then the saving effected will be so marked that our administrators will be tempted to give the natives all the appointments they can. This, we maintain, is the true way to political as well as financial reform in India.

What we want is an extended and improved Statutory Civil Service. In fact, "a Civil Service for India," from which the Government of India should be at liberty to select any man (under certain rules, of course,) for any appointment they please, always provided a stipulated number of appointments are held by Civil Servants recruited from home. The examinations should be held, as Mr. Ginwalla suggests, in India itself, and University men should be encouraged to take part in them. But we cannot agree with him in thinking that they should, as a matter of course, go home for a period of study. It is absolutely absurd to send men to a foreign country six or seven thousand miles off, in which the habits, customs, religion and language, are wholly at variance with their own, to learn how to administer justice to their fellow-countrymen. If anything could unfit them for it, we should say it would be sending them to Europe. In fact, Europeans are worthless in In-

dia until they have resided six or seven years here, simply because they have not the knowledge which we send native students to unlearn in England. It is quite intelligible for China, Japan, and other Eastern countries to adopt this plan, because they cannot otherwise give their countrymen an insight into how things are managed in Europe, and they have no colleges or universities on the European model, where students can learn the history and languages of the nations with whom they now require to carry on diplomatic relations, and from whom they must take lessons in military science, ship-building, gunnery, &c. But all the arguments in favour of China and Japan doing this are reversed in India where the Government is invested in Europeans, who have all they want first hand. But the question is a big one, and before an Indian Civil Service proper (as apart from the European or exotic Civil Service) could be satisfactorily formed, the Educational Departments in the higher branches would first require reform. The Universities might remain examining bodies; but the Colleges should be residential. If Morality and discipline can be introduced into them by any other means—good; but it must be plain to any educationalist that the weakest part of an educational system, conducted solely upon the examining-principle, is the want of control and of teaching by example. To elaborate anything like a system for India with her institution of early marriages, and family domicile and many other social customs which should be of universal application would be extremely difficult. The alternative, however, debars a whole nation—except perhaps one individual in two years—from entering the higher service of the Crown, and these few must cross the water and go to a foreign country, 6,000 or 7,000 miles off, to unlearn much, if not all, that will be of any practical use to them, and to acquire scientific and technical knowledge, which there is no reason whatever they should not acquire in their own country. However great the obstacles to the reform, they ought to be surmounted. India, unless her costly and elaborate system of higher education has been a failure,



should now be able to train up her own Secondary Civil Service. This is the reform of the immediate future, and though we will, of course, be roundly abused for our advice, the abuse will be short-lived. Before very long the Native Associations will see, as clearly as we do, in which way the interests of their community really lie. And before long it will be their chief business to insist upon the fact that certain kinds of administrative work can be performed by natives very much more cheaply than by Europeans. The expenditure of the country has to be seriously reduced, and this is the only way in which a really large saving can be effected without loss of efficiency.

---

















